THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. VII.—OCTOBER, 1882.—No. 28.

THE ORIGIN OF CIVIL AUTHORITY.

I.

Die Grundsätze der Sittlichkeit und des Rechtes. Beleuchtet von Th. Meyer, S. J. Freiburg, 1868.

The American Republic. By O. A. Brownson, LL.D. New edition. New York.

OUTRAGES committed on the holders of civil power have, in our age, become events of frequent occurrence. There have been, in this century, very few princes in Europe against whom a conspiracy was not formed, or on whose person a deadly attack was not made. Several of them have died by the hands of assassins. A short time ago all civilized nations were shocked by the dreadful assassination of the emperor Alexander II., and since several years, the entire world is amazed at the widely-extended plot and the incessant secret working of the nihilists against the head of the Russian monarchy. But also on this side of the ocean authority has not been inviolable. Was not twice the Union plunged into the deepest sorrow for seeing the life of a President treacherously destroyed?

If criminal acts of an atrocious nature are often repeated, with the co-operation particularly or the connivance of many, they are always symptoms of an inward disease of society, and remind the wise and thoughtful of the necessity of applying salutary remedies to the body politic, in order to prevent its speedy dissolution. So, indeed, the latest assassinations have been looked on by the sound public mind, so the press has, in general, commented on them.

Much more so have the supreme pastors of the universal Church, the Sovereign Pontiffs, viewed those sad events. They took occasion from them to give advices and admonitions to all Christian nations, and to point out the great dangers imminent if a return to better principles should not soon take place. His Holiness, Leo XIII., to this effect addressed an encyclical letter to all Christendom after the awful catastrophe in Russia. Having spoken in the same both of the atrocity of the crime committed and the evils everywhere threatening civil society, he deems it necessary again to inculcate the sacredness of authority; for this great principle he considered as fundamental to all social life; so that as the one is heeded or disregarded the other also must of necessity thrive or decay.

The warnings of the Sovereign Pontiff deserve our fullest consideration, because he not only touches the core of the evil that corrodes society, but also furnishes the remedy that may heal the corruption. It will therefore be proper to enter into his ideas and to develop them more fully for Catholic readers. For this purpose the present essay is written; it is intended to be a demonstration of the divine origin of authority. As to the division of the matter, we shall observe in the following order: First, the necessity of civil authority among men is to be set forth; then, the different opinions concerning its nature and its source will be expounded, and those of them that are obviously false rejected; afterwards, from its characteristic properties its true origin will be inferred, and hence the force and extent of its actions be defined; lastly, we have to explain how authority, thus far considered abstractly, obtains concrete existence by being vested in a proper subject; in conclusion, we shall point out the beneficial effects which, if derived from God, it must produce in the state.

The necessity of civil authority among men follows from the necessity of society. Society is so necessary to us that without it we could not at all exist and act in accordance with our rational nature. In domestic society man is born and brought up; in religious society he practices the worship of the Deity; in civil society he enjoys peace, security, and prosperity. What is the cause of this phenomenon always and everywhere observed upon earth? There are goods which man is absolutely in need of and still cannot procure but with the help of others. It is hence necessary for the different individuals to associate, in order to pursue such objects with common efforts. Nature herself has for this purpose endowed us with the faculty of speech and implanted in our hearts love for and sympathy with our fellow-creatures; it has, moreover, so constituted us that to the want in one the power of furnishing the means to satisfy it answers in another. Among the goods not

attainable by private efforts we must reckon also those which make up man's temporal or external well-being to such a degree as is requisite for the destination of human nature; for they cannot all be procured but by the co-operation of a vast multitude of individuals and families. For the attainment of them we are, therefore, bound and even impelled by nature to form a society spread over a whole country,—the state. Civil society is thus a necessity of our nature, a necessary consequence of our constitution itself. Hence it is that it will never fail to exist, that it cannot be rooted up, that, if destroyed to-day, it will rise again to-morrow under another shape, that it is found among all nations and in all ages.

Yet society implies authority as one of its constituent parts. Society, in general, is any union of rational beings for the purpose of pursuing the same end with common efforts. Since of rational beings each one is a complete whole, an entire principle of immanent and free activity, subsistent in itself; they cannot be united intrinsically or as to their entity so as to form by their combination new natures or substances. Between them a union is effected only by joining together their tendencies or operations towards the obtaining of the same object. This we call a moral union, because by it free wills are combined. So, indeed, men coalesce against a common enemy, or for the sake of a profitable commerce, or the promotion of science, or the establishment of useful institutions. However, the great difficulty is, how permanently to unite rational beings as to their free will. May they not, though they once desired the same object, later relax in its pursuit, or, though they agree as to the end in view, disagree as to the means to be employed in behalf of its attainment? With regard to union the free will is quite different from the physical force. The latter, because it acts and is determined with necessity, is of itself unchangeable in its agreement with the elements with which it is combined; yet the former, just on account of its freedom, can with those with whom it was once united be again at variance. In such a case it is evident that society is dissolved or becomes loose and inefficient. Therefore, to render the union of free beings permanent, strong, and energetical, still another element must enter it besides the sameness of the end that attracts all. There must be a bond which ties them together inseparably, a power which energizes and regulates their common tendency. This principle, as it directs rational beings, referring their actions to an end, must belong to the moral and intellectual order, and as it exercises a rule over others, necessarily implies superiority. We hence call it *authority*. Authority, therefore, is in any society the source of unity, the formal constituent, the life-giving principle; it is for members of a moral union what the head is for the body.

But from this we must infer that society cannot exist without authority, just as a whole cannot be without its constituent parts. Not even the family, the simplest form of society, consisting of but few members, can be without a head or has ever been without it. Much less can the state do without it, as it requires a harmonious co-operation of numerous partners, and as unity is maintained among many with much greater difficulty than among few. All states, on this account, have and had at any time their magistrates, among the savage tribes as well as the civilized nations. They differ as to the form of government, but a government they all have; they sometimes changed it, yet they only substituted one form for another and did not abolish it at all; had they done so, they would have destroyed themselves. Authority, then, is for society of absolute necessity, and is for mankind as necessary as society itself.

From this development also the nature, the properties, and the functions of civil authority are apparent. It is the power, and lays on those in whom it is lodged the obligation, to lead all the members of civil society in harmonious unity to the attainment of their common end,—that is, to the obtaining of that degree of temporal well-being which is requisite for man's destination. Authority is hence essentially beneficent; for it is not meant to serve the personal interests of the magistrates by taxing the liberty of the subjects, but aims at the welfare and the prosperity of all alike. Yea, beneficence is the property not only of civil, but of all authority in general. For as happiness is necessarily aspired to by our rational will, men will never agree but on an advantageous end to be pursued by common efforts. The object of those societies in particular which God himself has founded either by creation or supernatural intervention must needs be good, because He always intends in His works the perfection of His creatures; and hence the authority that leads us towards embracing such an object is beneficent in a special manner.

As to the functions by which civil authority has to perform its task, we may easily understand that they chiefly consist in the establishment of proper laws and rights, and in the constant and prudent maintenance of the same. To direct all citizens of the state to the attainment of their common end, their temporal well-being, it must not only inspire them with energy in the pursuit of this object, but also put imperturbable order and harmony in their actions. Two things are comprised in this. First, authority must draw up a rule, which following, all co-operate for the common welfare, so as not to hinder, but rather to aid one another's activity; secondly, it must render such a rule binding for all, so as to lay their free wills under unavoidable necessity to comply with it.

Should authority fail in one of these two things, it would, no doubt, be far from fulfilling its task. But if all are bound harmoniously to employ their forces for the public well-being, each one is also, with full justice, entitled to the exterior capacity of performing whatever is implied in his social duties, to the corresponding co-operation of the other members of the state, and to a proportionate share in the fruits gained by common efforts. Now thus laws and rights are created. For the rule laying all citizens under a strict obligation to forbear or to perform certain actions we call law, and the just claim not to be impeded or to be helped by others, under given circumstances, we term right, law being, as S. Thomas[1] says, a rule dictated by reason in behalf of the common weal and promulgated by him who has care of society, and right being an irresistible moral power to possess, to do, or to exact something. Civil authority, therefore, must be conceived as a source of laws, of duties and rights, and it is by them that it unites and strengthens the commonwealth, and surely works out public welfare.

Being thus, to some degree, acquainted with the necessity, the nature, the properties, and the functions of authority, we may now begin to search into its origin. A question of paramount interest! Who is not desirous to know whence that power is which by putting order in our civil life may produce our highest earthly good, and by imposing inviolable laws on each one's free will may protect our liberty and our most precious rights? Who is not aware that its extension, its efficacy, and its wholesomeness are quite dependent on the source from which it is derived, and that the trust we may have in it must be different, as the principles vary from which it is thought to spring? The best course we can take in the discussion of this question will be, first to hear the opinions which, concerning the origin of authority, have prevailed in the several periods of history, and then to point out those which, by obvious reasons and experience, prove false.

No sooner had, after the overthrow of heathenism, Christianity begun to pervade the public life of the nations and to illume human science with the light brought down from heaven by the Eternal Word, than all authority, whether in the Church, or in the state, or in the family, was conceived to be an issue of the power and sovereignty of God. Then the whole philosophy of law was a development of the truth proclaimed by the apostle: "There is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God." Rom. xiii. 1. The several authorities, however, were understood to be in full harmony; for how could potencies disunited or hostile flow from the same divine source? It was just by their concord

[1] S. Theol., I., II., qu. 90, art. 4, "Lex est nihil aliud nisi quaedam rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune ab eo, qui curam habet communitatis, promulgata."

that they wonderfully upheld and strengthened one another. The state's power in particular, by its friendly alliance with the Church, had, in the eyes of the nations, got an irrefragable witness for its divine origin, and was clothed with a higher lustre as a token of its sacred character.

Yet this union between the Church and the state was broken up, first only in fact, when towards the end of the Middle Ages, emperors and kings attempted to render the spiritual power of the Church subservient to theirs, and when, by their policy, they trampled on all her sacred laws. Later, when the humanists had with their heathen views alienated many a mind from Christ, a proper theory was sought for the practice. The solution of this problem was reserved to Macchiavelli (1469–1527), and so thoroughly has he performed his task that he emancipated the state not only from the Church, but also from God. According to the ideas he laid down in his renowned work, *Il Principe*, civil power, vested in the monarch, is altogether an end in itself, absolutely sovereign and independent; it ought, consequently, to have in view no other object than its own interest, and to be directed by no other rule than that of expediency; it had to consider as good and allowed whatever promoted its growth, and judge evil and forbidden whatever hindered its success. Over a state of so absolute a character, of course, no other law could exist, not even that of morality. True, religion and virtue were not to be banished from the commonwealth, but should rather be recommended to subjects and feigned by the prince; yet they both were only humble servants of the state, to be favored and employed as far as the latter's interest would require. It is evident that thus the supreme civil power was declared independent of God; yea, placed on His throne; for it was represented as having its sway not from Him, but of its own sufficiency, and as having its last end not in Him, but in itself. Here we have the first attempt during the Christian era to derive authority from another than Divine source, by attributing to it absoluteness both in existence and in action. However, though Macchiavelli had but systematized the policy then common among most of the European princes, his theory met with general dissatisfaction. The nations were yet too deeply penetrated with religious feelings, too closely attached to the Church, not to abhor such godlessness.

Yet the Reformation came and achieved what just before was still impossible. The authority of the Church was run down as a human invention, and that which was left of it was incorporated with the state's power. The facts are too well known from history to need any further illustration. At first civil authority seemed to be strengthened by these proceedings, and to be surrounded by a

new splendor of sacredness, it being now considered as the only power on earth established by God Himself. We remind the reader of the views entertained by the English monarchs and their divines with regard to the royal supremacy. But soon the kings were shown in a quite different light. Civil power, made absolute, became extremely tyrannical, particularly in matters of conscience. Besides Catholicity, also many of the numerous sects which had taken rise in all Protestant countries were cruelly persecuted. A bitter hatred was on this account aroused against the existing governments. If the authority of the Church had been discredited and outraged, in spite of its majesty and its age, in spite of the proofs alleged for it from Holy Writ, in spite of the many benefits bestowed by it on all civilized nations, why should secular power, stained with cruelty and tyranny, be any further regarded by the discontented as sacred and divine? If in religious matters full liberty was proclaimed and law abolished, why should man not be equally free in temporal things of much less importance? So, in fact, the peasants in Germany understood the new gospel; they rose in a bloody insurrection against the princes. Nor did, some years later, the exalted theory of their supremacy spare the English kings revolution, banishment, and death by the executioner. The reformers themselves spoke with great disrespect of the governments not favorable to their cause. Temporal power, too, was thus bound to fall into contempt.

Another important circumstance must in this matter be taken into account. Protestantism had, on the one hand, no connection with antiquity, but was, owing to its very origin, in a radical opposition to the Catholic science of the Middle Ages; it had, consequently, thrown itself into the necessity of devising quite new scientific systems, both in philosophy and in theology. Yet, on the other hand, it had exempted the human intellect from all subjection to authority, giving full freedom in all things to private judgment. The consequence was that the intellect, in achieving so great and difficult a work as that of laying a new foundation of culture and civilization, destitute as it was of all help, became liable to any kind of deception, a prey to all human passions. Ought we to be astonished if soon a motley crowd of errors shot forth, if opinions and ideas emerged again which once seemed to have been buried under the ruins of heathenism? The fact is that, not long after the Reformation, in Germany and England, empiricism, materialism, idealism, pantheism flourished in succession, that philosophy became the mother of unbelief, impiety, and absurdity. Now in the public mind unchristian political theories could fix roots; now the state's power could be severed from God, or rather could be allowed to supersede Him by assuming His

attributes. For the errors of speculative always have their bearing on practical philosophy, and it is chiefly there that their influence is felt.

The new era of political science, based on modern speculation, was inaugurated in England. Hobbes (1588–1679), as he first deduced sensationalism from Bacon's empiricism, so also started a new theory of society. Considering man as a beast of prey, devoid of moral conceptions and free will, impelled by animal instincts to seek his own satisfaction at whatever expense of others' happiness, he thought our primordial or natural state to have consisted in a warfare of all against all. However, when men had thus lived for a certain time, they got disgusted with a condition from which nothing but universal carnage could result; led by reason and reflection they resolved, for the sake of a truce, to enter into a union, all with each and each with all, by establishing a common power strong enough to coerce the opposite egotistic tendencies of the several individuals. Such power, he thought, would be monarchical absolutism, which, exercising unlimited sway over each one's entire being, over the understanding and will of all, could not err in anything, but was to constitute, by its decrees and actions, right and justice itself. Society as well as authority was thus, in his opinion, the creation of the individual human being, the issue of a contract made by them, in order to exchange their state of barbarity for permanent peace and tranquillity.[1]

In a somewhat different way was the theory of the social compact put forth by Locke (1632–1704), the philosophical founder of empiricism. He, too, lets civil society rise from a contract concluded by individuals for the purpose of mutually protecting their interests, particularly their property. The supreme authority, however, necessary for unity, and hence created by the will of the contractors, he lodges in the whole body politic, in the collection of all the citizens. Magistrates, says he, must be set up, yet they are to be intrusted only with the power of putting the laws into execution; legislative power itself abides with the people and is to be exercised through representatives. Not the government, consequently, is sovereign, but the nation; it is this that determines the constitution of the state, sanctions the laws, creates administrative power by transferring individual rights to a common centre, and delegates it to the king or other officers held answerable for the use they make of it, and liable to be deposed for malversation.

[1] Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), a Dutch Protestant, had, in his work, *De Jure Pacis et Belli*, even before Hobbes, spoken of a contract that gives existence to civil society. But he does not admit barbarity as preceding the civilized state, nor is, in his opinion, the compact the last cause of society; he rather considers it only as the means by which human nature actualized in the concrete order its inborn socialness.

Locke has, by his system, first proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and advised popular representation as the best form of government.

In this stage the modern ideas concerning civil authority went over from England to France, to find there their further development. Montesquieu (1689–1755), in his work *L'esprit des Lois*, deduced from Locke's principle the constitutional monarchy. Public power, all emanating from the people and ultimately residing in them, is divided by him into executive, legislative, and judicial. The executive power is vested in the king by a written fundamental contract between him and the nation; the legislative in two houses of representatives, dependent, however, as to the validity of their enactments, on the royal sanction; the judicial in judges, independent in their position of the government, but bound to act in strict accordance with the laws enacted. The person of the king is inviolable, yet he cannot use his power but through his ministers, and these are answerable for their actions to the houses of the representatives. The design of this scheme was to maintain the sovereignty of the people by rendering the magistrates directly or indirectly responsible to them, to prevent the misuse of governmental power by dividing it and intrusting its parts to different bodies dependent one on another, and hence exercising a mutual control.

Two things must be well understood in the form of government drawn up by Montesquieu. First, all agents in the state are supposed to be actuated solely by selfish motives, chiefly by the love of honor, wherefore they, with intrinsic necessity, pursue their own interest alone, and employ the power with which they are clothed for the public welfare only inasmuch as they are spurred to do so by their own advantage or are precluded from misuse by extrinsic circumstances. Civil society is thus an artificial mechanism, in which one power is checked by the other and all are reduced to equilibrium. Secondly, the state itself is absolutely sovereign, since it was neither derived from God, having sprung into existence from the consent of the citizens, nor referred to Him at its end, the prevention of the abuse of power through equipoise being its real destination, and the happy effect thus by whatever means obtained being as the actualized will of the people, the supreme good to be longed for, and the highest object to be aimed at. That authority of so absolute a character was under no superior law, not even that of morality; that religion was regarded as a subordinate potency, was but a natural consequence from such premises. Montesquieu had evidently revived Macchiavelli's theory with that only difference, that sovereignty resided, according to the latter, in the monarch; according to the former, in the

people; and that in the opinion of the one everything was lawful that the king decreed; in the opinion of the other, the will of the nation was justice itself.

Whilst Montesquieu developed the ideas of the English philosophers to constitutionalism, Rousseau (1712–1778) drew from them the theory of revolution. The following is the drift of his thoughts, laid down in his *Contrat Social.* All men are naturally free and equal, since each one's nature and ultimate end consists in the exemption from restraint of whatever kind. Equality and liberty, therefore, are essentially inalienable prerogatives of man, the highest good and the pitch of his happiness, the diminution of which is wrong, the promotion of which is right. Such being our nature, civil society cannot be brought into being but by a free agreement of all individuals, nor can its object be anything else but common protection consistent with the equal freedom of all. The great problem to be solved by the state, says he, is "*to find a form of association which shall defend and protect with all the common strength the person and property of each associate, and by which each one, being united to all, shall nevertheless obey only himself, and remain as free as before.*" The solution is this: Each one transfers all his rights on the collection of all those with whom he enters into union; the community thus founded is the state, the sum of rights thus accumulated is authority, the common will of all is the sovereign. Provided, then, that the supreme authority rests in the whole nation, he thinks the equality of the citizens to remain intact in society, and their obedience to be reconciled with freedom; because all have an equal share in the public power and its beneficial effects, and each one as he obeys the common laws so also governs as a constituent part of the sovereign people. From this nature of civil power he at last deduces two conclusions, one respecting its holders, the other its actions. As to the first, he infers that the magistrates have no authority at all of their own, but are merely the ministers and organs of the people, chosen by the will of the same, and deposable at any moment. As to the second, he says the enactments of the sovereign nation are absolutely good and right, and, since before the formation of society there were no precepts, the only laws of man. Others, on their part, have further deduced that, as according to Rousseau's materialistic views man is but an animal led by passions and sensual appetites, authority is in his system the sum of material forces added, the actual prevalence of united brutal tendencies.

Having thus far considered how authority was based on empiricism and materialism, we have now to call our attention to idealism. This latter set in just when the principles of the social compact began to be acted upon in France. It is interesting to follow

the idealistic development, for in all its stages we meet with some new ideas enthusiastically taken up and imbedded in the latest theories of law. Idealism was started by Kant (1724–1804), and it was he who, in laying its foundation, furnished the political philosophers with reasons for dividing morality and right into widely different spheres. As, in his views, theoretical or pure reason is the source of all the forms of our cognition independently of any exterior object, so practical reason is the ultimate origin of the moral order of our actions. Man, says he, in virtue of his rational nature, is a law unto himself, supreme and absolute, bearing in itself both the motive that inclines us and the authority that binds us, to obey itself. From their conformity with this absolute law of rational nature the morality of our doings is to be judged. Whatever action we forbear or perform by command of, and out of respect for autonomical reason is good and moral; whatever we do out of regard for a lawgiver extrinsic to us, even if he be God, or out of hope for some advantage is, because repugnant to our dignity, imperfect and immoral. Thus the primary product of the practical reason is the moral order, placed by Kant in inward freedom or independence; from this he deduces the existence of God, religion, and outward freedom, that is, exemption from compulsion, as necessary a presupposition to the realization of the moral order, and hence he at last infers the necessity of the state. Wherever, he reasons, men of equal nature live together, there their actions and relations must so be regulated by a common law that each one's freedom is rendered consistent with that of all the others. Yet this cannot be effected but by coercion; and so he arrives at the ingenious conclusion that the freedom from compulsion required by autonomical reason cannot exist among men but by compulsion according to a fixed common rule. The equal and universal coercion by law in behalf of the freedom of all he calls right; the power which works it, authority; the sphere in which it is exercised, state. The distinction between right and morality in this scheme is apparent. Morality regards only our interior, and consists in intrinsic self-determination, in respect for our autonomical reason as the motive of all our actions; right is merely in the exterior order, is but outward compulsion for the sake of universal freedom.

In a similar way had Fichte conceived the state. As he thinks, morality is the destruction of the non-ego, from which, were it once completed, the infinity of the ego would result. This implies that the ego is destined to extend in this visible world its causality as much as possible. However, as there are many egos, the practical reason dictates them to agree on a proper restriction, in con-

sequence of which they do not hinder one another's liberty of action. The means to obtain this is civil society.

In Kant's as well as Fichte's theory authority is, together with the state, a postulate of the autonomical reason, an issue of our own absolute and sovereign dignity. Its origin lies ultimately and essentially in our rational nature and cannot be traced back to another source.

That at the end the two great geniuses disagree as to the subject in which the supreme civil power is to be vested, that Kant's practical reason postulates the monarchical, Fichte's, on the contrary, the republican form of government, is quite immaterial for us.

Yet idealism was so far still in its infancy and not free from many inconveniences. The existence of many absolute beings, may they be termed autonomical reason, or absolute egos, seemed to be a metaphysical absurdity. To unite several absolute and sovereign beings under one government, and to give them the freedom congenial to their nature by universal compulsion, might come near impossibility. Such difficulties were thought to have been overcome by the pantheism of Schelling (1775–1854) and Hegel (1770–1831). Only one absolute being was then conceived to be, which was, according to Schelling, the identity of the subject and object, according to Hegel, impersonal thought. This one being, they say, comprises all; by differencing itself it puts forth the whole world, by again reducing the differences to identity, it unites the objects produced and withdraws them to itself. We give here only Hegel's system in a few words, as this was for a long time in particular favor with certain statesmen of a despotic tendency. The universe is, as he says, the development of thought in three different periods. Thought is in the first period by itself, in the second out of itself, in the third in itself, hence in the first pure thought, in the second nature, in the third spirit, which is the withdrawing of nature into thought. Now in this third period thought brings forth right, honesty, and morality, which latter is the realization of good. Good is the union of the particular and universal, or rather the subjection of the former unto the latter, whereas evil is the prevailing of the finite over the infinite, or the opposition of the particular to the universal. Such union is real in social life, where the individual is, indeed, subject to the whole. Society, therefore, being the realization of good, is morality itself, and the more it is extended, and the closer it is united, the higher a degree of morality it is. Again, social life is most perfectly developed in the state, which is not distinguished from, or subject to, the Church, but rather contains it as one of its parts. To live, therefore, in the state according to its laws is consummate virtue. Nay, the state, being the supreme evolution of the spirit in the objective

order, is God himself present and actual in the world, or the divine will putting itself into act and organization. Above the state there is only one more development, that by which the spirit is conscious of the absolute identity of the subjective and objective order. This is effected, first by art, then by religion, and at last by philosophy, —of course by Hegel's. Hence, as the state is above the Church, so pantheistic philosophy is above religion, and must be regarded as man's highest perfection and brightest intellectual enlightenment.

Apparently had in this system authority regained its former splendor and divine character, since it was the all-uniting power of the absolute, and had the difficulty to unite men to one perfect society vanished away, since the individuals were finite and dependent and the absolute alone their common source and nature, infinite and independent. But, alas! the absolute was in reality identical with human reason, being but its highest evolution; and so again authority remained merely human. Moreover, as in pantheism the particular is to be swallowed up by the universal, the individuals are in it, not joined to society, but rather destroyed, and by the combination of opposite moments reduced to nothingness.

One great advantage, however, was admitted to have been reached by Hegel's system, notwithstanding its unintelligible abstruseness. He had started the idea of an intrinsic and natural union of the nation prior to its political constitution and productive of the same. By blood, already, by nature, by their common soil and tongue were men thought to be united to one perfect whole, to which all individuals were subordinate as the members are to the body; and this compact whole, it was further deemed, would by its will, according to a natural law, bring forth society with all its constituent parts, its organization, and its government, just as the trunk of a tree evolves branches and foliage. Pantheistic exaggerations might be dropped, and still the theory seemed fully to account for the origin of the state, and to grant it independently of God, all power that was desired, if only human reason was considered as autonomical. The authority thus obtained was unlimited and absolute; for of God and His law it was independent; and over the individuals whom it was to rule it had as unrestricted dominion as the whole has over its parts. As to the subject in which it naturally rested, it was primarily clothed in the whole nation, and could for the sake of easier administration be delegated, not to one alone, as Hegel inferred, in favor of absolute monarchy, but also to many, just as it pleased the community.

This view of society is fundamental to nearly all political theories of the day. Socialism, which denies the right of possession to the individual and confers it on the state, evidently involves it.

It also lies at the bottom of positivism. The positivists, denying all that is beyond the sphere of experience, consider society simply as a necessary development of human nature without any reference to a supramundane cause. Yet, if nature universally unites men to society, if by an intrinsic law it forms the family, the tribe, the state; the principle of unity must pre-exist in it antecedent to all actual association, and pre-containing all men as in a germ, evolve them to a well-organized whole.

All modern political systems may hence be summed up in two classes. One builds up society on the consent of yet unconnected, independent individuals, and derives government and civil constitution from their free will; the other, on the contrary, supposes men naturally united to a sovereign nation, and lets from the will of this, as from the last source, spring the organized society, the power of the rulers, and the rights of the subjects.

Are now perhaps all these theories barren or dead speculations buried with their authors? Whoever is but little acquainted with the history of our age must confess that they all are acted on in the public life of nations. Not only are they read in the textbooks of law, and in the scientific works of the jurists according to which also judgments are passed, but they are also taken as foundations of most of the modern states. Empires with unlimited monarchical power now commonly rest on the principle of the absolute unity of men according to pantheistic views; constitutionalism borrows its maxims and its organization from Locke and Montesquieu; the French Revolution, and the great political movement, in general, which, at the end of the last and the beginning of this century, overturned so many thrones, divided kingdoms, and founded republics on their ruins, appeals as to the charter of its rights to the social contract; the present disturbance in many countries, the swelling power of socialism, the several bloody wars by which dynasties were exterminated, states stripped of flourishing provinces or even their independence, result from the pretended unity of the sovereign nations entitled to their natural territory or to constitutions that are thought to agree with the will of the masses.

What opinions were predominant in the Union from the time of the Revolution we may learn from the late Dr. Brownson. He is, no doubt, a competent authority. Having expounded Rousseau's social compact, and remarked that Mr. Jefferson resorts to it in the Declaration of Independence, he says in his renowned work, *The American Republic*, "This theory, as so set forth, or as modified by asserting that the individual delegates instead of surrendering his rights to civil society, was generally adopted by the American people in the last century, and is still the more prevalent theory with those among them who happen to have any theory or opinion on

the subject. It is the political tradition of the country. The state, as defined by the elder Adams, is held to be a voluntary association of individuals. Individuals create civil society, and may uncreate it whenever they judge it advisable. Prior to the Southern Rebellion, nearly every American asserted, with Lafayette, 'the sacred right of insurrection,' or revolution, and sympathized with insurrectionists, and revolutionists, wherever they made their appearance. Loyalty was held to be the correlative to royalty, treason was regarded as a virtue, and traitors were honored, feasted, and eulogized as patriots, ardent lovers of liberty, and champions of the people. The fearful struggle of the nation against a rebellion which threatened its very existence may have changed this."[1] Later he remarks: "The tendency of the last century was to individualism; that of the present is socialism. The theory of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Jefferson, though not formally abandoned, and still held by many, has latterly been much modified, if not wholly transformed. Sovereignty, it is now maintained, is inherent in the people; not individually, indeed, but collectively, or the people as society. The constitution is held not to be simply a compact or agreement entered into by the people as individuals creating civil society and government, but a law ordained by the sovereign people, prescribing the constitution of the state and defining its rights and powers."[2]

Contrasting now with one another the theories of the several periods of the Christian era, we are at once struck with the observation, that the essential difference between ancient and modern systems consists in the derivation of authority. In the Middle Ages civil power was conceived to spring from God, in our days it is looked on as a creation of man himself; in former times it had as a divine origin, so also a divine lustre and inviolableness about itself, now, being of but earthly extraction, it has a merely human character, and is liable to the fickleness of all human institutions. This, then, is the real subject of our discussion, whether authority originates in God, as the ancients maintained, or in feeble man, as modern thought holds. And this alone is the point at issue; for in what relation the temporal stands to spiritual power, does not enter at all into our present question.

Even obviously considered, the modern systems can hold forth but very weak claims to truth. We at once discover in them absurdity and falsehood, if we search into the foundations on which they rest, and deficiency, if we examine into the final consequences in which they result. From what we have said above it is evident that they are but deductions from empiricism, materialism, idealism,

[1] The American Republic, chapter iv. [2] The American Republic, chapter v.

and pantheism. Hobbes and Rousseau were gross materialists; Kant and Fichte were the founders of idealism; Hegel and Schelling were pantheists of the worst kind; and they all inferred their ethical and political principles from the speculative tenets which they followed. Can from so poisonous a root grow forth a sound doctrine? Can theories based on error, absurdity, and impiety be true and wholesome? This remark alone might be sufficient to convince a thinking mind of their falsity.

But, it is answered, Macchiavelli, Locke, and Montesquieu, and a great many of their admirers, were by no means atheists and unbelievers. We willingly grant this; indeed, they believed not only in God, but also in the truth of Christian revelation; yet that, in spite of their personal convictions, their scientific tenets did not rest on an atheistical ground we cannot see. It is an essential point in their system that civil society is an end for itself, independent of God, and free from his moral law. Now let us ask them, is the state, or is human nature, from which it in whatever manner springs, created or not? If human nature is increate, we must, undoubtedly, embrace pantheism or atheism. Was, on the contrary, man created, how can he be independent of his Creator, and how can the state, which is either a work of his free will or an evolution of his nature, be an end in itself, absolutely supreme and sovereign? Whatever is created is dependent on God, not only because it derives from Him being and existence, but also because it is of necessity subject to His will and referred to Him as its last end. This is both a metaphysical and a revealed truth. Moreover, the state, being the union of men in their pursuit of a common object, acts as a rational being with understanding and free-will. But every being endowed with reason must have a supreme good in view as its last end, to the attainment of which it adapts all its free operations. What now is the supreme good of all rational will? Undoubtedly, God Himself, who alone is infinite in perfection. Him, consequently, also the state must have in view, and to His embrace its actions must not be hindrances, but means. Again, God, being infinitely wise and holy, cannot but maintain order in the universe by imposing inviolable laws both on the material and the free or rational creatures. Hence also the state is under His will and power. Yet those laws of His, which concern the rational creation, and those relations which free actions must have to Him as the supreme good, constitute the moral order. Civil society, therefore, is not exempt from the law of morality, and is, in general, not absolutely independent and sovereign, but essentially dependent on God as its Creator and Lord, and subject to Him as its supreme lawgiver. To admit it to be created by God, and yet to claim for it absolutely independent sovereignty is an

evident self-contradiction, because thus the attributes of the infinite are given to the finite, and those of the increate to the created. Far more consistent were the atheists and pantheists, who denied creation and the existence of a personal Deity. They have, indeed, but unfolded what was latent in Macchiavelli's and Locke's system, and have laid down a well-connected theory of the absolutism and revolution, long before admired by unchristian philosophers and put into practice by politicians.

To speak now of the working of these systems, we have to denounce their utter deficiency. They were invented to establish such supreme authority as would effect the unity of the state, protect freedom, and promote peace and tranquillity. But in all these respects they prove quite a failure.

Unity is never produced by authority of a merely human origin. It is not difficult to show this in whatever supposition of the politicians, whether they derive power from men taken individually, or taken collectively. It is derived from the consent of men taken individually in the theory of the social compact. But the consent of the individuals governed never creates a governmental power sufficient to maintain unity in the whole civil society in a permanent and efficient manner. First, in this way no universal authority can be formed. There are always many in the state who have never consented to be ruled by the existing government. Such are the children, the women; such are all those who have no right of suffrage; such is the minority which did not vote for the magistrates actually put in power, or for the laws enacted. It cannot be said that all those have given a tacit consent to the decrees issued by the majority. For in many instances they even forcibly protest against them. Nor is it true that their continued remaining in the state implies such consent. There is no law which could oblige them to give it or could presuppose it in their actings, since the theory in question acknowledges no law to exist before the formation of society, or to be valid without the free agreement of those bound by it. Their not leaving the country of which they are citizens, frequently does not depend at all on their free will, but is simply a matter of necessity. If, therefore, their continued residence in the state should be construed as a consent to all that is done and enacted by the majority, also the victim of a robber gives consent to his being stripped of his property, because he chooses rather to deliver up his money than to endanger his life; and also the prisoner agrees to his ill-treatment, because he prefers rather to suffer in the dungeon than to be shot down at an attempt of escaping. A queer freedom, indeed, is that, which consists of necessity of choosing between two evils!

Secondly, could even for the establishment of a government

the consent of all without exception be obtained, the power thus set up would have no permanence. Each one would be as free to withdraw his consent, as he was free to give it. There again no law, no power could bind him, as none exists but by his will. When, therefore, a criminal is to be punished, he may retract his consent, and the state has no more authority over him. When the citizens ought to cooperate with great sacrifices for the public welfare, when the soldiers ought to go to battle for their country, they may renounce their allegiance to the state, and they are freed from all civil duties. Whenever it pleases the subjects, the government may be dissolved, and revolution may rise. The adherents themselves of the theory of the social compact declared this to be right and lawful. Moreover, as the individuals of one generation cannot bind those of another, the consent by which civil society itself was formed, ought to be renewed at certain times, and it is quite plain that everybody is free to give or refuse it, to acknowledge or to shake off the obligation contracted by their forefathers. Thus authority got by the free consent of the individuals has no firm and permanent subsistence, but is bound to collapse just then, when it ought to act with full energy for the well-being and unity of the whole state.

The social contract, then, is of no avail. Its working is as insufficient as its very existence is fictitious. For history never discloses to us a time when men passed by a compact from a solitary to a social and civilized state; it, on the contrary, shows us from the beginning all nations of which it speaks in a more or less cultivated society; and it knows none that by its own exertions rose from barbarism to civilization, but many that, in spite of their high degree of culture, by vice and corruption, little by little decayed and perished.

Are perhaps such difficulties avoided, if governments are thought to have been created by the will of man, not taken individually, but collectively, that is, by the people already united through a natural bond? The whole, indeed, may effect what the parts cannot severally. Yet here the question presents itself, whence such union of the people could take rise, before authority was established? From a pantheistic point of view we may understand the complete unity of man by nature itself. But pantheism is a monstrous absurdity. A society or a state the people cannot yet be; for no compound can exist before its constituents, and authority is the formal constituent of society. There remains nothing but to say that the bond of the alleged union consists in the sameness of blood, language, and country. So some have in reality explained their theory. The explanation is, however, insufficient. Neither is it a fact that these causes have produced the unity of

states and governments, nor is it possible that from them results that power which binds together to a permanent alliance the wills of the individual citizens. At all times have empires been composed of elements different in blood and language; of the modern states nearly all have been formed by a mixture of nations.

Of the United States this must be said in a particular manner. As to the country common to all the members of civil society, it is evident that its unity itself is not natural, but arbitrary. There are hence no geographical limits by which nature so separates tribe from tribe, or nation from nation as to prevent their union into the same state. Were there such, they, no doubt, would be seas and ranges of high mountains. But not even they have been respected as insurmountable barriers. The division of states has always depended on quite other reasons,—on treaties, conquests, discoveries, inheritance. Yet has even in some instances the sameness of descent, language, and country contributed towards the establishment of one government, it has not, therefore, to create the same given unity to the will of the people, connecting all individual wills into one common will. Bonds of that kind found at most the same interests, kindred sympathies and customs, but they do not link together the individuals to one common action in political matters. They let each one be just as free and independent as if they did not exist at all; they lay no restraint on their wishes, preclude no party struggles, no dissensions, no warlike oppositions, as we may learn from Grecian history. Hence it is not true that on account of them the nation in establishing the government acts as a whole or as a body politic, but it is rather plain, that notwithstanding them the citizens, each one retaining his full liberty, act in this regard quite individually. Nor is it possible that the powers uniting our wills can rest on such principles. Blood, tongue, and soil belong to the material liberty and consent of free wills to the rational, moral order. Yet the rational is not subject, but infinitely superior to the material, and by its spiritual power masters it with freedom. No earthly thing can for this reason firmly allay the free wills of men. We, then, find for a union of the nation prior to the existence of civil authority and productive of the same, no natural bond that binds together the individuals and forces them to be of one will in setting up a government. We must censure the whole theory as a begging of the question, because, in order to account for the origin of the principle of social unity, it presupposes the unity of the nation already existing without any sufficient reason.

But though authority created by the will of the people cannot maintain unity, it might seem nevertheless to protect liberty. In discussing this point of our inquiry, we have to swim against the strongest current of the public opinion of the day. What is more

praised than the freedom upheld by our present political institutions, and what is more severely blamed than the governments of the Middle Ages, on account of their absolutism and tyranny? Still we cannot but lay the very same charges to our modern systems of policy.

Tyranny, it must be well kept in mind, is not identical with monarchy, as many seem to think. To give its definition, tyranny is the use of public power made by its holder, not in behalf of the common welfare, but for private interest. May now authority not be misused just as well when it is vested in many, as when it is vested in one person? How does this atrocious crime come into practice? and how are men tempted to it? By the fact that magistrates are, on the one hand, prompted by human passions, and, on the other hand, think themselves in the exercise of their power free from all responsibility to a higher authority. It is for this reason that unlimited monarchical sway is deemed to be tyrannical, and that, to preclude tyranny, in our modern constitutions kings are made indirectly answerable to the people. Yet thereby unanswerable sovereignty has not been abolished, but simply transferred from one subject to the other, from the monarch to the nation. Nay, so little responsible has this latter become, that, intrusted with full liberty to act as it likes, it has for the use it makes of its power not to give an account even to God. Formerly, when the state was not yet atheistic, a monarch, however absolute, was at least thought to be answerable for his government to the omniscient Lord and Creator of all, but now we have a godless ruler, who, though frequently instigated by the worst passions, is restrained by no fear of the Eternal Judge, but deems himself absolutely free and independent. This tyranny becomes all the more intolerable, because he that threatens us with it wields absolute and unbounded power. For the state, just because it is conceived as absolute, supreme, and independent of any other being, is bound by no rule, not even by the law of morality; its will, its enactments, its actions, whatever they may concern, are right and justice itself; not only may it in everything do what it pleases, but also what it does must be considered as essentially good. Has a greater despotism, reaching the innermost recess of our conscience, existed in any period of history?

However, it is objected that, though a single or few persons may abuse civil authority, the whole people will not, because it cannot act against its own interest. If, in reality, the public power would be exercised by the whole of the citizens with good order and full deliberation, we grant that tyrannical oppression would be scarcely possible. But this is not the fact. The populace is instigated and excited by agitators, deceived by demagogues, bribed by the rich

and ambitious, whence there is in many places never more disorder and fraud than at the time of popular elections. Many a fatal measure has in this manner been adopted by the will of the multitude, which would have been rejected, had it depended on the vote of few. Besides, public power is in fact not exercised by the whole population, but by the majority, the stronger, quicker, craftier party. Who now will say that this cannot and does not abuse authority for its own interest against that of the minority, and against that of the commonwealth? Where has not the majority oppressed the weaker and injured them in vital points? Have we not, on this account, seen civil wars, religious persecutions, partiality in the administration of justice and the protection of right and property, in democratic republics, as well as in monarchies? How did the French Republic, at the time of the Revolution, deal with multitudes of its citizens, whom it slaughtered on the scaffold, though liberty and equality had been solemnly proclaimed for all? Not even this we admit as a solution of the difficulty, that the different political parties render by their counterpoise the abuse of power impossible—or at least avenge it most severely. Some advantage, we grant, is derived therefrom, and in certain junctures a very great one. Still the evil is in this way rather temporarily checked than thoroughly remedied. As a rule, there is among the several parties one predominant; were it not so, the action of the government would in most cases be stopped, as it happens when in a legislative body the opponents are equal in number. Now just then when the party in power meets with a strong opposition, it will try by all means, right and wrong, to break down the same, and to perpetuate its own predominance. Should it be beaten in the contest, it will have to suffer the same wrongs which it inflicted on others. As a proof we allege the bloody struggles existing in the Roman Republic about a century before the establishment of the Empire. We hence conclude that popular sovereignty, if not derived from God and subject to His law, is no impregnable bulwark of liberty, but rather, in many circumstances, the hardest tyranny.

What, however, we consider as the greatest fault of the systems in question and the worst hindrances to freedom, is that by them the moral power is exterminated from the government, and material force placed in its stead. Not tyranny alone, but also compulsion and blind necessity, are thus made the rule of mankind. If a higher power above creation is eliminated, which delegates authority to the governors, for what reason ought man obey man? Subjection always supposes a higher power in him that is obeyed. Whence, now, is that superiority of one over the other, if all are equal by nature, and if above nature there is nothing to be feared

or respected? Does it, perhaps, consist in the eminent qualities, the extraordinary wisdom and bounty of those that command? But we find high endowments also in the governed, and frequently theirs are as great as those of the rulers. And are they not of so high a degree? Self-love and repugnance to subjection affects that they are at least imagined to be such. On that basis obedience cannot rise. But if one single man of himself cannot govern us, may not the whole people have superiority over the individuals sufficient to command their subjection? Physical superiority, we grant, it may have, but not moral. The opinion of the people, that is, of the majority, does not always change our judgment, nor does their will overturn our resolutions, or lay an intrinsic restraint on our wishes, or take from us the innate capacity of following our own views and propensities, or deprive us of that truth and that good which satisfies our intellect and will and constitutes our highest happiness. Yea, if our reason be autonomical, it would be immoral to obey any law or power extrinsic to us. What, now, if a strong party or a great number of individuals insist on the use of their natural freedom? How will the whole nation, for the sake of unity and public welfare, determine them to a certain course of action? Some politicians think that such differences may be prevented by uniform public instruction. Yet, leaving aside the question whether or not the state can justly claim such forced education, we deny that even common instruction under public authority can produce unity of opinions, and much more that it can effect an agreement of our wills in public life, on account both of the freedom which is innate to us and the different inclinations under the influence of which we constantly are. Others say that politicians must find means and ways to interest for the submission to the public will our self-love, our sense of honor, our natural propensities. But again, self-love, biased as it is by pride and other passions, is not convergent, but divergent among men, tending disorderly to each one's self; it is just from thence that opposite aspirations and clashing interests arise. How, then, is it possible to reach harmony in action by fostering the cause of discord or by appealing to combating enemies? No way can, therefore, be imagined in which the power even of the nation could firmly tie together free wills. If, nevertheless, unity and observance of the common laws is to be obtained, there remains nothing but either to deny the existence of freedom and to commit all to intrinsic or mechanical necessity, or to enforce certain acts, or their omission, by violence exercised on the bodies. This conclusion is by no means exaggerated. Many advocates of the social compact avouch in plain terms that authority is the sum of material forces; Kant places the whole sphere of right and all

activity of the state in outward compulsion; Montesquieu derives all public welfare and justice from a mechanical equilibrium; the pantheists recur to a blind intrinsic necessity, by which, as by an organic law, the absolute being develops the objective world and unites and withdraws it to itself.

Does the order established in society according to such theories agree with the dignity of our free rational nature? Nations are thus governed like herds of beasts, with the iron hand; physical force and compulsion are identical with law and right; our trust and security depend entirely on the weapons of soldiers and policemen; honesty, charity, sincerity are no more realities that can be relied on in our social circles; instead of devotedness to the well-being of others there is now an instinct or compelling impulse to all absorbing centralization; in the place of the love of the good, the free and noble tendency to virtue, we see at present a cold, enforced necessity that overcomes our egotism. Is it not a bitter irony to say that with the introduction of such social relations the day of true freedom, right, and order has dawned for us upon earth?

It remains to discuss in a few words the fitness of the modern systems to secure peace and tranquillity in civil society. The first consequence of the principles they laid down is, that the change of government may be rightly effected at any time, whenever the sovereign people long for it. Not only may governmental power be at pleasure transferred from this to that individual, but also one constitution may at any moment be converted into another. Evidently is this the right of perpetual revolution. Rousseau and his adherents proclaimed it aloud and praised it as a sacred prerogative of men, reconquered in our age. Others shrank from this conclusion, and considered certain forms of government as essentially connected with the idea of the state, or would, at least, allow a constitutional change only in cases of extreme necessity. But who does not see the inconsistency of such restrictions? By the very fact that the people is thought to be absolutely sovereign and free from any higher law, the popular will can, at pleasure and in whatever manner it likes, overthrow constitutions as it has set them up, dethrone kings and pull down monarchies as it has instituted them, break down the frames of republics as it has raised the same. The first effect of this is, undoubtedly, the instability of government; and were it the only one, it would be bad enough; for by the lack of steadfastness all authority is undermined and rendered unfit for broader enterprises and effective influence on the people. A much worse consequence is the universal rush to the acquisition of power. For, on the one hand, most men are desirous of having at least a share in the government, and just those who are actuated by ambition and other unrestrained passions strive

most to seize public power for their own interest. But of the sovereign nation all elements are equally entitled to offices and magistracies; and anyone's endeavors that may succeed in gaining the consent of the majority are just and lawful. Hence a vehement struggle arise of nescessity between the different eminent men or the mightier parties of the state; animosities must be roused, fraud and oppression will be resorted to; and when at last a government is established, its opponents will be ever at work to thwart its activity and to overthrow it at the next opportunity. For examples we have not to go back to Athens and Rome; our own time furnishes us with ample experience. How many revolutions have been stirred up, how many party-persecutions have raged, how much blood has been shed by civil contests in England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, America since the modern ideas began to have their bearing on the public life? Nearly all nations have, since that time, been possessed by a feverish excitement, which banished peace and tranquillity from their midst.

To see at once all the working of the new political systems with regard to the common weal, let us take a glance at the present condition of society. State's authority has taken into its hands all affairs, religious and cultural, as well as political and commercial, and proves insufficient to manage them. One constitution after the other is set to work, one farrago of laws after the other is put forth, and shows itself ineffective; one party after the other gains hold of the supreme power or the seats of the ministers, and is unsuccessful, yea, is found, when put out of office, guilty of atrocious injustice and gross malversation. Heavy burdens are imposed on the people, and effect no advance of public prosperity. Crime and immorality increase, not only in the lower, but also in higher classes, where, in general, they remain unavenged. Licentiousness and covetousness are aroused, while there are no means at hand either to satisfy or to repress them. The mightier know how to profit by the power given to the people, but the weaker are oppressed and treated like slaves. Hence dissatisfaction is felt everywhere; one political party is engaged in war with the other, the poor are set in array against the rich.

It is, then, to be confessed that the new theories, which have emancipated the state from God, have very little promoted unity, freedom, peace, and prosperity. The world has returned to old atheistical views, but with them it has inherited also the oppression and the corruption of heathenism. The evils at least that threaten us ought to convince us of the necessity again to base on God, as on the eternal foundation, the structure of civil society, and to derive from Him who is the source of all good our public as well as private well-being.

CARDINAL NEWMAN AS A MAN OF LETTERS.

IN the year 1810, on most Saturday afternoons, according to the *Catholic Times*, two boys, aged respectively nine and five, might have been seen playing in the gardens of Bloomsbury Square, London. The boys, both natives of the square,[1] offered the most complete contrast to each other in appearance. The younger, whose head was profuse with long black glossy ringlets, was a child of rare Jewish type of beauty, and full of life and activity. The other was grave in demeanor, and wore his hair close cut, and walked and moved in a way which in young people is called old-fashioned. He was of pure English race and Puritan family. The names of the children denoted these differences as much as their appearances. The one was Benjamin Disraeli, the other John Henry Newman. They had this in common, that both had before them a great, absorbing, and life-long work, the one in theology, the other in politics; but both also found time for letters, of which they were ardently fond, and approved themselves as distinguished literary men. The elder was to become the author of the *Essay on Development*, the *Grammar of Assent*, and the *Office and Work of Universities;* the younger was to be known by the popular novels *Konigsby* and *Lothair*, *Sybil* and *Endymion*.

If we follow the elder boy home from his play-ground in the square to the more fertile garden of the mind where he used to learn his lessons and to read, we shall find that he has commenced the studies of a lifetime and has made the Scriptures his starting-point. "I was brought up," he tells us, "from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible."[2] He is not at that tender age aware of the immense importance of his choice even in a literary point of view. The sacred volume open before him is the treasury of all that the world has ever seen most sublime, beautiful, persuasive, and pathetic. In history, anecdotes, lessons of wisdom, parables, psalms, poetry, it far exceeds all the sacred and profane relics of antiquity. It abounds in vivid pictures of human life, while it reveals the mysteries of the worlds unseen. It has extorted the praises of Jews and infidels. Joshua ben Siras said of the "Book of the Covenant:" "Wisdom floweth therefrom as the water of Pison when it is great, and as the water of Tigris when it overfloweth its banks in spring. Instruction floweth from it as the Euphrates

[1] The "English Cyclopedia" states that Newman was born in Old Broad Street.
[2] "Apologia," Part III. p. 55.

when it is great, and as Jordan in the harvest. Correction cometh forth from it as the light, and as the water of the Nile in autumn. There is none that hath made an end of learning it, there is none that ever will find out all its mystery, for its wisdom is richer than any sea, and its word deeper than any abyss."[1] Heine, the modern semi-Christian Jew, says of the Bible: "It is God's work, like a tree, like a flower, like the sea, like man himself—it is the Word of God, that, and no more." "A book?" he asks, in another place. "Yes, an old, homely-looking book, modest as nature, natural as it is—a book which has a work-a-day and unassuming look, like the sun which warms us, like the bread which nourishes us—a book which seems as familiar and as full of kindly blessing as the old grandmother who reads it daily with dear trembling lips, and with spectacles on her nose. And the book is called quite shortly —the Book, the Bible. Rightly do men call it also the Holy Scripture. He who has lost his God can find Him again in this Book, and towards him who has never known God it sends forth the breath of the divine word."[2]

Nothing could have been better fitted to take hold of the imagination of a clever boy; and in the case of John Henry Newman what fruit it has produced! No Christian writer, ancient or modern, has made more use of the Scriptures in his works, and especially in his sermons, than he. The ideas and language of the Bible are wrought so largely into the texture of his discourses, delivered before leaving Oxford or since, and the quotations from it are so numerous and apposite, that the sermons often appear little more than exegeses of the inspired text—or expansions of it in the very spirit of Isaiah, David, Paul, Peter, or the Lord Himself. And this does not diminish, but raise the literary character of his own paragraphs. The quotations do not serve as mere make-weights to eke out his own arguments, but are taken up by him into the substance of his reasonings without discrepancy of thought or style. And this habit and method of scriptural citation gives to his sermons an air of Hebraic solemnity and early-Christian freshness. He is never greater than when in the pulpit, and he seems to have been born to preach.

The ordinary routine of a boy's classical education makes little impression on the majority of youthful minds. It is a task, and often a hated one, and nothing more. But it could not have been so to John Henry Newman. The boy who could of his own accord grapple with such authors as Paine and Hume, while revelling also in the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe and Miss Porter,[3] must have been capable of enjoying his Virgil and Horace and

[1] Quoted in "Religion and Philosophy in Germany."

[2] "Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos from the Prose of Heinrich Heine," p. 96.

[3] "Apologia," Part III. p. 58.

committing their verses to memory with delight. And here I will quote one passage from his writings which conveys an astonishingly vivid impression of the author's literary intuitions. None but an intensely literary man could have written it, and none but a really literary mind will appreciate it. "Let us consider how differently young and old are affected by the words of some classic author, such as Homer or Horace. Passages, which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces, neither better nor worse than a hundred others which any clever writer might supply, which he gets by heart and thinks very fine, and imitates, as he thinks, successfully in his own flowing versification, at length come home to him, when lonely years have passed, and he has had experience of life, and pierce him, as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival, or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation, for thousands of years, with a power over the mind, and a charm which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the mediæval opinion about Virgil, as if a prophet or magician; his single words and phrases, his pathetic half lines, giving utterance, as the voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time."[1]

When Newman had taken his degree at Oxford and had been elected Fellow of Oriel College, his surroundings were highly favorable to the formation of a literary character. The fellowships were open and strongly contested. It was a high distinction to be elected, and the names of Hawkins, Davison, Whateley, Keble, Arnold, Pusey, Newman, Hurrell Froude, and the Wilberforces, represent a galaxy of a striking order. Newman was a star among these stars. His scholarship was extensive, his reading omnivorous, his language simple and incisive. He felt interest in everything that was going on in science, literature, and politics. He admired with enthusiasm any greatness of action and character, however remote the sphere of it might be from his own. He disdained conventionalities, in conversation was most winning, and, when he became Vicar of St. Mary's, in the pulpit he was supreme. Though without action or any of the arts of oratory, his discourses rose far above every contemporary preacher—so lucid were they, so penetrating. They went to the very heart of things. They convinced the understanding and stirred the conscience in its lowest depths. They were not mere sermons: they were literature. "A sermon from him," says John Anthony Froude, "was a poem formed on

[1] "Grammar of Assent," ch. iv. p. 75.

a distinct idea, fascinating by its subtlety, welcome—how welcome! —from its sincerity, interesting from its originality, even to those who were careless of religion; and to others who wished to be religious, but had found religion dry and wearisome, it was like the springing of a fountain out of the rock." The pathetic changes of his musical voice, his thrilling pauses, and clear intense utterances of deep truths and subtlest speculation, are still vividly present to the writer of these lines, though forty-five years have elapsed since he heard him in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford. The parochial sermons preached during his ministry in that parish have been frequently republished, and now form part of his works, in eight volumes. Professor Shairp, in his lectures on poetry delivered at Oxford, has pointed out the extraordinary literary merits of these discourses. He regards them as more full of his individuality than any of his other writings, and as uttering his inner feelings in the best language. "From his more recent discourses," he says, "preached to mixed congregations, one might have taken many samples, in which he paints with a broader brush and lets himself loose in more sweeping periods than he generally used in Oxford. But these, though high eloquence, do not seem to contain such true poetry as the earlier sermons. . . . . Many of these, instinct as they are with high spiritual thought, quivering with suppressed but piercing emotion, and clothed in words so simple, so transparent, that the very soul shines through them, suggest, as only great poems do, the heart's deepest secrets, and in the perfect rhythm and melody of their words, seem to evoke new powers from our native language."[1] "It was in his *Parochial Sermons*, beyond all his other works," Professor Shairp observes in another place, "that he spoke out the truths which were within him—spoke them with all the fervor of a prophet and the severe beauty of a poet. Modern English literature has nowhere any language to compare with the style of these sermons, so simple and transparent, yet so subtle withal; so strong, yet so tender; the grasp of a strong man's hand, combined with the trembling tenderness of a woman's heart, expressing in a few monosyllables truths which would have cost other men a page of philosophic verbiage, laying the most gentle yet penetrating finger on the very core of things, reading to me their own most secret thoughts better than they knew them themselves."[2] "The reader may begin," says Mr. Kegan Paul,[3] "by thinking the sermons cold; so, in some cases, did their hearers, for there is little attempt at rhetoric; profound thought and logical conclusions are stated in the simplest

[1] "Aspects of Poetry," by John Campbell Shairp, p. 61 and p. 460.

[2] "Aspects of Poetry," p. 443.

[3] "The Century," June, 1882, p. 276.

and most direct words. By degrees only did the hearer, or does the reader, find himself, by accepting simple premises, *implicated in the web of a relentless logic, and fused in the fire of the preacher's intense conviction.* Now and then, indeed, as if unconsciously, the words rise to a lofty strain almost unequalled in the language, though even then the style is severe and simple, stripped of all those ornaments which men usually regard as eloquence." When the *Parochial Sermons* were first published in 1834, "it was," Mr. Mozley says, "as if a trumpet had sounded through the land. All read and all admired, even if they dissented or criticised. The publishers said that the volume put all other sermons out of the market, just as *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering* put all other novels. Sermons to force their way without solicitation, canvassing, subscription, or high-sounding recommendation, were unknown in those days, and these flew over the land. They rapidly proceeded to successive editions, and were followed by *University Sermons* and *Sermons on Holy Days.*"[1]

The divine institution of Preaching may be considered under a twofold aspect. In itself it is ever to be regarded with respect and docility of spirit, however little it may be recommended by the preacher's ability, knowledge, or fitness for his office. It is the chief means of keeping alive in the world a remembrance of the primary truths of religion. But in addition to this it has a literary aspect; and it may be doubted whether this is sufficiently borne in mind by preachers in general. If anything worth doing is worth doing well, this is true above all in reference to a task so momentous as that of conveying a message of life and death from the Creator to the creature. Too much forethought and preparation can hardly be given to it, nor is any art conducive to its efficiency to be disdained. Newman never supposed that genius and readiness of speech could properly supply the place of study. Nothing is more remarkable in his sermons than the union of deep thought and extreme simplicity of method and expression. This makes them literature, and literature of a high order. They abound in aphorisms which astonish us by their breadth; and the extent of their compass and possible application is the more remarkable because, as a preacher, he is continually showing himself very careful not to allow his words to run beyond his meaning. For example, in a sermon on "The Religion of the Pharisee, the Religion of Mankind," he says: "The natural conscience of man, if cultivated from within, if enlightened by those external aids which in varying degrees are given him in every place and time, would teach him much of his duty to God and man, and would lead him on,

[1] "Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement," vol. i. p. 316.

by the guidance of Providence and grace, into the fulness of religious knowledge."[1] And so again: "A religious man, who has not the blessing of the infallible teaching of revelation, is led to *look out* for it, for the very reason that he *is* religious."[2] Again, the man of letters shines conspicuous in a passage like the following: "Thus I account for St. Paul's liking for heathen writers, or what we now call the classics, which is very remarkable. He, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was learned in Greek letters, as Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews, his counterpart, was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians; and he did not give up that learning when he had 'learned Christ.' I do not think I am exaggerating in saying so, since he goes out of his way three times to quote passages from them; once, speaking to the heathen Athenians; another time to his converts at Corinth; and a third time, in a private Apostolic exhortation, to his disciple St. Titus. And it is the more remarkable, that one of the writers whom he quotes seems to be a writer of comedies, which had no claim to be read for any high morality which they contain. Now how shall we account for this? Did St. Paul delight in what was licentious? God forbid!—but he had the feeling of a guardian angel who sees every sin of the rebellious being committed to him, who gazes at him and weeps. With this difference, that he had a sympathy with sinners, which an angel (be it reverently said) cannot have. He was a true lover of souls. He loved poor human nature with a passionate love, and the literature of the Greeks was only its expression; and he hung over it tenderly and mournfully, wishing for its regeneration and salvation."[3]

In the year 1833, when the startling "Tracts for the Times" were fast issuing from the press, a series of poems, also called "Lyra Apostolica," appeared periodically in the *British Magazine*. They expressed in verse ideas consonant with those of the Tracts, and were, in fact, written by hands occupied with the prose publications. They came more directly under the head of literary productions because they were in verse, and the writers were distinguished respectively by the six first letters of the Greek alphabet. The signature δ, however, occurred so much more frequently than any other, that the series as a whole might almost be ascribed to Mr. Newman, who had chosen that letter. The others were Bowden, Hurrell, Froude, Keble, R. J. Wilberforce, and Isaac Williams. We must not, however, expect to find poetry of a high order in the pieces signed δ. Of all that he has done, poetry is that which Cardinal Newman has done least well. There are qualities in his mind and circumstances in his career which have been unfavorable

[1] "Sermons on Various Occasions," p. 20. [2] Ibidem, p. 66.
[3] Ibidem, p. 97.

to any remarkable development of his genius in this direction. The outward phenomena of nature have ever been subordinated by him to abstract truths, and this has of necessity diverted his observation from the details of physical life, which are in so great a degree the sources of poetic inspiration and the object of poetic description. His life has been intensely interior, and its ascetic character has imparted to his verse a certain severity, which is not compensated by finely-chiselled outline of Hellenic form. The influence of women on his thoughts, feelings, and modes of expression in verse is hardly to be traced, and he writes as might a solitary penitent in his cell, or a prophet in his cleft of the rock. The softness and sweetness and melody of versification proper to the poet are with him only occasional, and if we want to read his best poetry we must betake ourselves to his prose. In his sermons and sometimes in his essays the depth and fervor of his religious emotions supply every requisite and overflow every disadvantage, and far from our feeling him severe, rude, or rugged, we are deluged by his ineffable tenderness. Once, indeed,—in his "Lead, Kindly Light,"—he has surpassed himself as a poet, and written what touches every heart and satisfies every ear, and will last as long as the language in which it is composed. It is purely and simply a poetic inspiration—a gem without a flaw. Written in the Straits of Bonifacio, when becalmed, it is truly a wanderer's hymn. The gentle sigh of the evening sea-breeze is in its plaintive utterance and the filial trust of a pilgrim bound homeward. The repetition in it is effective, and the adjective "garish" exquisitely chosen. The mystic beauty of the last two lines brings it to a climax, and helps to render it one of the most popular of all English hymns. No excuse will be needed for quoting it afresh:

"Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home—
Lead thou me on!
Keep thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene,—one step enough for me.

"I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on.
I loved to choose and see my path; but now
Lead thou me on!
I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will; remember not past years.

"So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone;
And with the morn those Angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile."

To this poem no second can be found in Cardinal Newman's poems. There is often some objection to the rest on literary grounds. The following, however, on "The Zeal of Jehu," has force and point as well as melodious expression :

"*Thou* to wax fierce
In the cause of the Lord,
To threat and to pierce
With the heavenly sword!
Anger and Zeal,
And the joy of the brave.
Who bade *thee* to feel,
Sin's slave?

"The Altar's pure flame
Consumes as it soars;
Faith meetly may blame,
For it serves and adores.
Thou warnest and smitest!
Yet Christ must atone
For a soul that thou slightest—
Thine own."

Cardinal Newman's poems grow upon you as you read. You discover in them more thought, and, consequently, more beauty, for they are the outcome of a beautiful mind. Their cadences also fall more harmoniously on the ear through frequent reading, by reason of your increased familiarity with their underlying thought. Artistic defects are overbalanced by spiritual gifts, and we feel that the poet who sings to us has been taught by the Holy Ghost. When his verses, on various occasions, were published, fourteen years ago, a critique on them appeared in the *Fall Mall Gazette*, headed "The Poetry of a Beautiful Soul." It was highly appreciative, and some of the remarks which it contained deserve to be recalled. "The poetry of the author before us," it said, "is limited in range, rarely passing beyond the circle of religious ideas with which his name has been identified, and then only for a few notes of tender personal feeling; the style of argument strikes us as thoughtful rather than powerful; in many stanzas it is clear, skilful, and tunable verse which we find, rather than that rare inspiration which blends word and thought in one inseparable harmony; but these poems are throughout, and that in a degree almost as unfrequent in our modern literature as the rich creativeness of Keats or Tennyson, the 'Confessions of a Beautiful Soul.'[1] From the boy's paraphrase of 1821 to the noble drama of 1865 ('Gerontius'), which concludes the book, every line in it is marked by a rare and exquisite sincerity. Here are no questions of 'art for art's sake,' no effects consciously aimed at, no gorgeousness of

[1] A chapter in Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," is so called.

grouping, no lavish loveliness of color; nay, rather, the picture is one of 'set gray life' and ascetic passion, the heart ill at ease with itself and with the world around it, retaining all the child's freshness, but putting aside almost all the child's happiness; the 'haven where he would be' found indeed at last, but the longing to leave it for the 'higher shores' undiminished in its sad intensity; 'all for love,' we might say, with due difference in the meaning, and the 'world well lost.' Or we could make our criticism of the book in the words which Dr. Newman has selected, with touching felicity of taste, for his motto, likening himself to the aged gardener of Virgil:

> 'Cui pauca relicti
> Jugera ruris erant; nec fertilis illa juvencis,
> Nec pecori opportuna seges, nec commoda Baccho.
> Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum
> Lilia, verbenasque premens, vescumque papaver.
> Regum æquabat opes anims.'[1]

Yet with all this, so unlike what poets, secular or religious, generally offer—indeed, from all this, arises an undefinable and singular charm. We are admitted to the presence of a 'beautiful soul,' rather than a candidate for political honors; to the battle of life, fought as an imperious necessity of nature demanded, not to a volume of dogmatic controversy. The lines gain a strange effectiveness through the simple purpose which never deviates for effect; a pathos lying 'too deep for tears,' from the very innocence and childlike reserve of the sincerity."[2]

Cardinal Newman's brother-in-law, the Rev. T. Mozley, writes in his *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement:* "John Henry Newman has not done justice (in the 'Apologia') to his early adventures and sallies into the domains of thought, politics, fancy, and taste. He very early mastered music as a science, and attained such a proficiency on the violin that, had he not become a doctor of the Church, he would have been a Paganini. At the age of twelve he composed an opera. He wrote in albums, improvised masques and idylls, and only they who see no poetry in 'Lead, Kindly Light,' or in the 'Dream of Gerontius,' will deny that this divine gift entered into his birthright."

The following stanzas, headed "The Call of David," appeared in the *Lyra Apostolica*, and are supposed to have been sung by Angels when Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed David, the youngest of Jesse's sons.[3] They are thoughtful, stately, and worthy of a master hand:

---

[1] Georgics, IV., 130.

[2] Pall Mall Gazette, January 23, 1868.

[3] 1 Kings xvi. 12.

"Latest born of Jesse's race,
Wonder lights thy bashful face,
While the prophet's gifted oil
Seals thee for a path of toil.
We, thy Angels, circling round thee,
Ne'er shall find thee as we found thee,
When thy faith first brought us near
In thy lion-fight severe.

"Go! and 'mid thy flocks awhile,
At thy doom of greatness smile;
Bold to bear God's heaviest load,
Dimly guessing of the road,—
Rocky rock, and scarce ascended
Though thy foot be angel-tended;
Double praise thou shalt attain
In royal court and battle-plain.

"Then comes heartache, care, distress,
Blighted hope, and loneliness,
Wounds from friend and gifts from foe,
Dizzied faith and guilt and woe,
Loftiest aims by earth defiled,
Gleams of wisdom sin-beguiled,
Sated power's tyrannic mood,
Counsels shared with men of blood,
Sad success, parental tears,
And a dreary gift of years.

"Strange, that guileless face and form
To lavish on the scarring storm!
Yet we take thee in thy blindness,
And we harass thee in kindness;
Little chary of thy fame,—
Dust unborn may bless or blame,—
But we mould thee for the root
Of man's promised healing fruit,
And we mould thee hence to rise
As our brother to the skies."

There is something extremely poetical in the following plaintive strain from the "Dream of Gerontius." It is the wail of the spirit lying passive and still before the throne of God.

"Take me away, and in the lowest deep
There let me be,
And there in hope the lone night watches keep
Told out for me.
There, motionless and happy in my pain,
Lone, not forlorn,—
There will I sing my sad perpetual strain
Until the morn;
There will I sing, and soothe my stricken breast,
Which ne'er can cease
To throb and pine and languish, till possess'd
Of its sole Peace.
There will I sing my absent Lord and love:—
Take me away,
That sooner I may rise, and go above,
And see Him in the truth of everlasting day."

There is a decided difference between the poems written by Cardinal Newman before and after his conversion from Anglicanism. In its later phase his poetry lost some of its severity and sadness, and acquired more glow and joyousness. Some verses by him on the month of May, which are often quoted, have a musical lilt foreign to his usual manner, and though more popular in their style than many others of his productions have also less individuality of thought:

"All is divine which the Highest has made,
Through the days that He wrought, till the day when He stay'd,
Above and below, within and around,
From the centre of space to its uttermost bound.

"In beauty surpassing the Universe smiled
On the morn of its birth, like an innocent child,
Or like the rich bloom of some gorgeous flower,
And the Father rejoiced in the work of His power.

"Yet brighter worlds still, and a brighter than those,
And a brighter again, He had made, had He chose,
And you never could name that conceivable best
To exhaust the resources the Maker possess'd.

"But I know of one work of His infinite Hand,
Which special and singular ever must stand,
So perfect, so pure, and of gifts such a store
That even Omnipotence ne'er shall do more.

"The freshness of May and the sweetness of June,
And the fire of July in its passionate noon,
Munificent August, September serene,
Are together no match for my glorious Queen.

"O Mary, all months and all days are thine own,
In thee lasts their joyousness, when they are gone;
And we give to thee May, not because it is best,
But because it comes first, and is pledge of the rest."

If Cardinal Newman appears distinctively as a man of letters in his sermons and poems, much more does he so appear in his philosophical writings, and especially in his *Grammar of Assent.* While to many this treatise will prove arid, full of truisms and proofs of what we all assent to without any proof, there are others, and those not a few, by whom it is read with avidity as more entertaining than romance, and more captivating than history, since it supplies them with a philosophy of the human mind in its attitude towards history, science, and religion, natural and revealed. It consists of two parts, in which the author considers respectively assent and apprehension with the connection between them, and assent and inference with the connection existing between these intellectual acts. He discusses the modes of holding propositions and of apprehending them; assent considered as apprehensive;

the apprehension of propositions, notional and real assents, and, under apprehensive assents in religious matters, belief in one God, the Holy Trinity and dogmatic theology. In the second part he treats of assent considered as unconditional; simple and complex assent; assent and certitude contrasted; the indefectibility of certitude: formal, informal, and natural inference; the Illative sense, its sanction, nature, and range; and, lastly, inferential assents in natural and in revealed religion. This is but the skeleton of a grand and complete acquisition, and gives not even a faint idea of the color, force, beauty, and variety of the arguments and illustrations with which it is invested. Its main object is to free the processes of the mind by which we assent to truth of every kind from the yoke of formal and technical logic. It extols and magnifies the Illative sense, giving it a power, grasp, and range, such as we do not find attributed to it in other philosophical essays. This portion of the work is singularly bold and original, though in fact it is simply the triumph of common sense in a subject-matter often made needlessly difficult. Nor does the author fail to place before us in a strong light the unreasonableness of demanding the same kind of demonstrations in the case of religious inquiry which we may expect in mathematics. "As in mathematics," he says, "we are justified by the dictates of a nature in withholding our assent from a conclusion of which we have not yet a strict logical demonstration, so by a like dictate we are not justified, in the case of concrete reasoning, and especially of religious inquiry, in waiting till such logical demonstration is ours, but on the contrary are bound in conscience to seek truth and to look for certainty by modes of proof, which, when reduced to the shape of formal propositions, fail to satisfy the severe requisitions of science."

It is often made a matter of regret that Cardinal Newman does not come forward more prominently as an apologist of Christianity in opposition to the Agnostic and other poems of infidelity of the day; but the fact is that he has done so already, both in other writings and in the *Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.* Nothing can be more masterly or convincing than the way in which he there shows that in order to reason with a skeptic on the truth of the Christian religion, it is necessary that he should at least admit the truths of natural religion. It is the fashion of the present time, civilized and self-sufficient, to call these truths in question one after another, and even to scout them and treat them with contempt. To argue with such persons about the still higher and more advanced truth of Christianity, which rests on the religion of nature as its basis, is to waste time and bring no fruit to perfection. In laying the scheme of Revelation before the minds of others, we are warranted in demanding that they should be prepared for it.

Nor does it appear to be the duty of Christians to cast pearls before swine. If conscience, the marvellous universe, and the march of Providence do not predispose men for revelation, it is difficult to see how they can be approached and lifted out of the lower deep into which they have sunk. Moral as well as intellectual qualities, and above all conscientiousness, are indispensable on the part of inquirers. They must really be inquirers, not disputants. If we should fail to persuade them of the truth of our religion, they must at all events retire from the conflict honest and upright adherents of the religion of nature. They must allow the being of God, prayer, the supremacy of conscience, and a moral law. Without these they are but intellectual animals, and have not reached the average stature of unregenerate man. They are not worthy to enter the Christian schools, having neither used nor enjoyed becomingly the groves and fields in which the schools stand. Christianity is indeed a philosophy, which is what they seek, but it is not a mere philosophy, but a practical one—a philosophy of human life, such as Cardinal Newman, above all other English divines, presents it to his hearers and learners. It is as a philosopher, in other words, as a man of letters, without the conventional tone of the pulpit, that he teaches what, coming from him, is so exquisitely beautiful, so infinitely acceptable. Nay, in the pulpit too, as we have seen, he is the man of letters, though he strives to put letters and philosophy, as such, into the background, and to preach in all simplicity the gospel of Christ. There is nothing in our language more limpid and striking than his review of Christianity as the legitimate heir to Judaism. It is in itself a most powerful defence of our religion against all gainsayers, and will be accepted as unanswerable by all who are duly prepared to receive it. It spreads over more than eighty pages, and is thoroughly artistic as a presentation of the Christian argument against Judaic, Pagan, or skeptic objectors. The conclusion is carefully worded—worded indeed with that surprising accuracy in which the author is unequalled by those of his race. "Here I end my specimens, among the many which might be given, of the arguments adducible for Christianity. I have dwelt upon them in order to show how I would apply the principles of this essay to the proof of its divine origin. Christianity is addressed, both as regards its evidences and its contents, to minds which are in the normal condition of human nature, as believing in God and in a future judgment. Such minds it addresses both through the intellect and through the imagination; creating a certitude of its truth by arguments too various for enumeration, too personal and deep for words, too powerful and concurrent for reversal. Nor need reason come first and faith second (though this is the logical order), but

one and the same teaching is in different aspects both object and proof, and elicits one complex act both of inference and assent. It speaks to us one by one, and it is received by us one by one, as the counterpart, so to say, of ourselves, and is real as we are real."

The *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* is the most important of all Cardinal Newman's works, since it states his reasons for abandoning the Church of England and for submitting to that Church for which Anglicans during three centuries had been professing the utmost abhorrence and contempt. He had himself joined in the hue and cry against her, and allowed himself to speak many unjust and bitter words which he felt bound to retract. If there be any more powerful and persuasive polemical treatise, I know not where it is to be found. Its literary merits are quite on a par with its theological. The introduction is a masterpiece, demonstrating the imperfection of the rule of Vincentius: "*Quod semper; quod ubique; quod ab omnibus*,"—as a test of orthodoxy. It must be considered true in the abstract: it may have been capable of application in the time of the writer, who might almost ask the primitive centuries for their testimony; but it is not available now or effective of any satisfactory result. The wrestling power of Newman in this essay is great and admirable. He throws his Anglican adversaries with such force that they seem to lie dead in the sands of the arena. "Do not the same ancient fathers," he demands, "bear witness to another doctrine (besides that of the holy Eucharist) which you disown? Are you not as hypocrites, listening to them when you will, and deaf when you will not? How are you casting your lot with the saints when you go but half way with them? For of whether of the two do they speak the more frequently, of the Real Presence in the Eucharist or of the Pope's supremacy? You accept the lesser evidence, you reject the greater."

The argument presented in the essay is in a very serried form. The principles of development are laid down. Development is exhibited in the progress of Christianity, and the tests of a faithful development are applied strictly to the Christianity of the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, to the mediæval and the actual period. The following passages have always been signally prominent, as summing up in a masterly manner the results of the inquiry in two periods. "If there be a form of Christianity at this day distinguished for its careful organization, and its consequent power; if it is spread over the world; if it is conspicuous for zealous maintenance of its own creed; if it is intolerant towards what it considers error; if it is engaged in ceaseless war with all other bodies called Christian; if it, and it alone, is called 'Catholic' by the world, nay, by those very bodies, and if it makes much of the title;

if it names them heretics, and warns them of coming woe, and calls on them one by one to come over to itself, overlooking every other tie; and if they, on the other hand, call it seducer, harlot, apostate, anti-Christ, devil; if, however they differ one with another, they consider it their common enemy; if they strive to unite against it and cannot; if they are but local; if they continually subdivide, and it remains one; if they fall one after another and make way for new sects, and it remains the same; such a form of religion is not unlike the Christianity of the Nicene era."

The passage relative to a later period is as follows: "If, then, there is now a form of Christianity such that it extends throughout the world, though with varying measures of prominence or prosperity in separate places; that it lies under the power of sovereigns and magistrates in different ways alien to its faith; that flourishing nations and great empires, professing or tolerating the Christian name, lie over against it as antagonists; that schools of philosophy and learning are supporting theories and following out conclusions hostile to it, and establishing an exegetical system subversive of its Scriptures; that it has lost whole churches by schism, and is now opposed by powerful communions once part of itself; that it has been altogether or almost driven from some countries; that in others its line of teachers is overlaid, its flocks oppressed, its churches occupied, its property held by what may be called a duplicate succession; that in others its members are degenerate and corrupt, and surpassed in conscientiousness and in virtue, as in gifts of intellect, by the very heretics whom it condemns; that heresies are rife and bishops negligent within its own pale; and that amid its disorders and fears there is but one Voice for whose decisions its people wait with trust, one Name and one See, to which they look with hope, and that name Peter, and that see Rome; such a religion is not unlike the Christianity of the fifth and sixth centuries."

Any sketch of Cardinal Newman as a man of letters would be incomplete if it did not include his novel writing. There is, indeed, a wide difference between his novels *Loss and Gain* and *Callista* and the compositions commonly so called. Of the ordinary arts of romance Cardinal Newman knows nothing, or if he knows, he certainly would not practice them. He carries into his tales the utmost amount of his own individuality, and has made them to turn respectively on the two periods and subject-matter most congenial to his studies and predilections—Oxford and the Vast Roman world during the conflict of Christianity with Paganism. It was not for him to trace the course of true love, which never did run smooth, from its rise to its legitimate and successful issue amid the peal of marriage bells. He could not, or he would not, enter

into the details of female loveliness, and still less of female waywardness or caprice. The precepts of the art-for-art's-sake school were lost upon him. He regarded æsthetics as a means, not an end, and time with him was too precious to be squandered in portraying characters having no bearing on the principles for which he seemed to exist. It is probable that he has felt as keen a pleasure as any in reading the romances complete all round of the great masters of fiction, and there are evidences in his works to show that it has been so. But it is one thing to read such books and quite another to compose in the same spirit and with a similar drift. Newman had different and higher work to do. He felt that he could make fiction subserve the cause of revealed truth, and he therefore exhibited truth doctrinal, controversial, and historical, under the light veil of invented narratives. But though he did not even attempt to succeed in one way, he did not fail in another. What he aimed at doing he did well, and gained his prize.

The very opening of *Callista* shows the scholar and the poet. We are led at once into proconsular Africa, a territory of which Carthage was the metropolis and Sicca might be considered the centre, and nowhere did nature wear a richer or a more joyous garb. The elements of splendor and beauty in the scene are brought together by a master-hand, and the effect is gorgeous. The description does not lose itself in generalities, but descends into details, of which these lines which follow give a favorable example. The tuneful modulation of the sentences cannot fail to strike the reader's ear.

"Tourists might have complained of the absence of water from the scene; but the native peasant would have explained that the eye alone had reason to be discontented, and that the thick foliage and uneven surface did but conceal what mother earth with no niggard bounty supplied. The Bagradas, issuing from the spurs of the Atlas, made up in depth what it wanted in breadth of bed, and ploughed the rich and yielding mould with its rapid stream, till, after passing Sicca in its way, it fell into the sea near Carthage. It was but the largest of a multitude of others, most of them tributaries to it, deepening as much as they increased it. While channels had been cut from the larger rills for the irrigation of the open land, brooks, which sprang up in the gravel which lay against the hills, had been artificially banked with cut stones or paved with pebbles; and where neither springs nor pebbles were to be found wells had been dug, sometimes to the vast depth of as much as two hundred fathoms, with such effect that the spurting column of water had in some instances drowned the zealous workmen who had been the first to reach it. And, while such were the resources

of less favored localities or seasons, profuse rains descended over the whole region for one-half of the year, and the thick summer dews compensated by night for the daily tribute extorted by an African sun."

By the intuitions of genius Newman was able to portray the characters of Christians and Pagans in Proconsular Africa as faithfully as the farms, the vegetation, and the agriculture. The brothers Agellius and Juba stand in direct contrast one to the other. The one is a follower of Christ, the other of all that is most unlike Him. The tale abounds in striking pictures. It is a gallery of antiques. Let me mention only the Roman games described by Cornelius; his account of the splendors of imperial Rome; Gurta and her witchcraft; the shop of Jucundus in Sicca; the dinner in his house; Callista and her love of Greece; the conversion of Agellius; the Christian fugitive priest Cœcilius; the rioters demanding the death of the Christians; their impious procession; Cyprian, the Bishop of Carthage, mounted on an ass by the ribald Pagans; the hut of the old crone Gurta in the woods; a dense African forest, with its trees and plants in endless variety; the snatches of wizard and heathen song; the madness of Juba; the Proconsular office, where prisoners charged with adhering to the new faith were tried; the magistrates; the proceedings; the different kinds of torture; the cave of Agellius; the mass there celebrated in secret; the Proconsular acts of the passion or martyrdom of Callista; the torture; the end of Juba; but above all in wealth of description, the plague of locusts,—are all of them related with so much power and point that they raise the tale to a high rank as a work of fiction and an effort of genius. Had the story been of a more secular character and less intensely Christian and Catholic, the passages here alluded to would have attracted far more attention and been more frequently cited in evidence of the author's great and varied abilities. The locusts occupy an entire chapter, but a single paragraph will suffice to give an idea of the whole.

"They are daunted by nothing; they surmount walls and hedges, and enter inclosed gardens or inhabited houses. A rare and experimental vineyard has been planted in a sheltered grove. The high winds of Africa will not commonly allow the light trellis or the slim pole; but here the lofty poplar of Campania has been possible, on which the vine-plant mounts so many yards into the air that the poor grape-gatherers bargain for a funeral pile and a tomb as one of the conditions of their engagement. The locusts have done what the winds and lightnings could not do, and the whole promise of the vintage, leaves and all, is gone, and the slender stems are left bare. There is another yard, less uncommon,

but still tended with more than common care; each plant is kept within due bounds by a circular trench round it and by upright canes on which it is to trail; in an hour the solicitude and long toil of the vinedresser are lost and his pride humbled. There is a smiling farm; another sort of vine, of remarkable character, is found against the farm-house. This vine springs from one root, and has clothed and matted with its many branches the four walls. The whole of it is covered thick with long clusters which another month will ripen. On every grape and leaf there is a locust. Into the dry caves and pits, carefully strewed with straw, the harvestmen have (safely, as they thought just now,) been lodging the far-famed African wheat. One grain or root shoots up into ten, twenty, fifty, eighty, nay, three or four hundred stalks; sometimes the stalks have two ears apiece, and these shoot off into a number of lesser ones. These stores are intended for the Roman populace, but the locusts have been beforehand with them. The small patches of ground belonging to the poor peasants up and down the country, for raising the turnips, garlic, barley, watermelons, on which they live, are the prey of these glutton-invaders as much as the choicest vines and olives. Nor have they any reverence for the villa of the civic decurion or the Roman official. The neatly arranged kitchen garden, with its cherries, plums, peaches, and apricots, is a waste; as the slaves sit round in the kitchen in the first court, at their coarse evening meal, the room is filled with the invading force, and news comes to them that the enemy has fallen upon the apples and pears in the basement, and is at the same time plundering and sacking the preserves of quince and pomegranate, and revelling in the jars of precious oil of Cypress and Mendes in the store-rooms."

Their ravages are then described in Sicca itself, in the shops and houses; but it is time to glance at the very different scenes presented by *Loss and Gain, the Story of a Convent.* It is a picture of Oxford life, yet not as it is now, but as it was forty years ago. Many changes have come over it—one, and not the least, that Newman is there no more. Keble has ceased to warble; Pusey is nearing the tomb. The old Anglican conservatism is invaded. Even fellowships are thrown open. The basis of education is changed. Liberalism in religion has succeeded to reform in politics. Infidelity is thinly disguised under modern thought. Science is in the ascendant; Revelation at a discount; and controversies, which in former days were brisk and lively, scarce find an echo in streets and halls. The walks of college gardens no longer resound with the strife of High Church and Low Church; the *Tracts* are forgotten, and the utmost indifference prevails to questions that once seemed all-important. The dialogues, therefore, in *Loss and*

Gain, whether between tutors or undergraduates, though admirably like what were heard of yore, are now almost out of date. But these lifelike dialogues are the record of a past which was pregnant with its future. They abound in humor and satire of the most subtle kind. Touches of caricature enliven the breakfasts and *tête-à-têtes*, as, for instance, in Professor Scaramouch's gas cure. The ridiculous sides of Oxford Anglicanism and Ritualism of that day are skilfully hit off, and never-ending pleasantry leads on to deep thought and wisdom. Mr. Vincent's advice to Charles Reding against going too far and becoming a party-man is exquisitely satirical. The freshness of the little tourneys of undergraduates in *Loss and Gain* can never fade. The frosts of time and change will not visit them. Youthful minds will make merry over them in generations to come, and rejoice that the great English Catholic classic was not always serious, historical, or philosophic. But for *Loss and Gain* the public of the future would never know how mirthful he could be, and how hard he could strike in the midst of pleasantness and kindliness. To read it once is to do it meagre justice; its manifold meanings cannot be exhausted in one reading. It is a jewel and a marvel of pretty writing—pretty, yes, but no less deep.

> "Ridentem dicere verum
> Quid vetat? Ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
> Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima."[1]

When Charles Reding, the hero of the tale, has made up his mind to seek admission into the visible communion of the Catholic Church, he revisits Oxford, and the passage in which this return is described seems to reveal some measure of the emotion with which the author himself must have taken his last farewell of the university where he had enjoyed, learnt, and taught so much, and which was endeared to him by a thousand pleasant recollections.

"We had passed through Bagley Wood, and the spires and towers of the University came on his view, hallowed by how many tender associations, lost to him for two whole years, suddenly recovered—recovered to be lost forever! There lay old Oxford before him, with its hills as gentle and its meadows as green as ever. At the first view of that beloved place he stood still, with folded arms, unable to proceed. Each college, each church—he counted them by their pinnacles and turrets. The silver Isis, the gray willows, the far-stretching plains, the dark groves, the distant range of Shotover, the pleasant village where he had lived with Carlton and Sheffield—wood, water, stone, all so calm, so bright; they might have been his, but his they were not. Whatever he

[1] "Horat. Sat.," Lib. i. 24–26.

was to gain by becoming a Catholic, this he had lost; whatever he was to gain higher and better, at least this and such as this he never could have again. He could not have another Oxford; he could not have the friends of his boyhood in the choice of his manhood. He mounted the well-known gate on the left and proceeded down into the plain. There was no one to greet him, to sympathize with him; there was no one to believe he needed sympathy; no one to believe he had given up anything; no one to take an interest in him, to feel tender towards him, to defend him. He suffered much, but there was no one to believe that he had suffered. He would be thought to be inflicting merely, not undergoing, suffering. He might, indeed, say that he had suffered, but he would be rudely told that every one follows his own will, and that if he had given up Oxford it was for a whim that he liked better than it. But, rather, there was no one to know him; he had been virtually three years away; three years is a generation. Oxford had been his place once, but his place knew him no more. He recollected with what awe and transport he had at first come to the University as to some sacred shrine, and how, from time to time, hopes had come over him that some day or other he should have gained a title to residence on one of its ancient foundations. One night in particular came across his memory, how a friend and he ascended to the top of one of its many towers with the purpose of making observations on the stars, and how, while his friend was busily engaged with the pointers, he, earthly-minded youth, had been looking down into the deep, gas-lit, dark-shadowed quadrangle and wondering if he should ever be Fellow of this or that college, which he singled out from the mass of academical buildings. All had passed as a dream, and he was a stranger where he had hoped to have had a home."

It would have been impossible for Newman to have chosen a subject that more thoroughly tested his ability as an ecclesiastical historian than *The Arians of the Fourth Century*. The histories of the Church, by Eusebius, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen might, indeed, have been easily read and compared, but to acquire complete acquaintance with the original works of Clement, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Tertullian, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, and Origen, with the Latin, French, and English controversial and historical writers on the period, such as Petavius, Lardner, Mosheim, Tillemont, Neander, Bingham, Cave, Bull, Burton, and Gibbon, required an extraordinary amount of learning in a young man, together with a power of analysis and synthesis belonging to a highly-gifted mind. It was, moreover, "the author's first work, and written against time." The several editions through which it has passed attest its value. Cast in a definite mould, it

leaves no reader in doubt as to any ascertainable facts nor as to the doctrinal and disciplinary leanings of the writer. But the subject offered little scope for showy writing and poetic descriptions. Mr. Newman had to deal with hard facts and abstruse distinctions. He had first to show that Antioch was the birthplace of Arianism, and that it was cradled in the schools of the Sophists; that it was framed in imitation of Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, who was excommunicated by bishops assembled from all quarters; that this Paul was succeeded in his see by Lucian, a man of learning, who, though a martyr, may almost be considered the author of Arianism, and that afterwards Arius and Achilles and their party of evildoers, the secret offspring of Paul and Lucian, were excited to sundry excesses by three Syrian prelates, and drank up the dregs of the impiety of the original promoters of the heresy. This history covers the period from A.D. 325 to 381, between the Councils of Nice and the first of Constantinople. But the charm of the book does not consist in a regular succession of historical events, but rather in a series of comments on the history of Arianism and the circumstances connected with it. Hence arises the most beautiful and masterly exposition of points of the subtlest description. Among these may be enumerated the remarks on the freedom from symbols and articles as abstractedly the highest state of Christian communion; the *disciplina arcani*, or secret teaching; the use of allegory in the schools; the "dispensation of Paganism" or commingled state of natural and revealed religion; the mode in which Christian missionaries addressed the heathen; the connection of the Eclectic sect with Neologism, and its uncongeniality with Arianism and the principle of the formation and imposition of creeds. In setting forth the doctrines of the different schools of philosophy at Alexandria, Newman shows marvellous clearness of thought and power of nice distinction. He simply fills the clear-headed reader with delight by his luminous perspicuity. He reminds us of the description of the word of God in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is said to be "more piercing than any two-edged sword, and reaching unto the division of the soul and spirit."[1]

In the later part of this great work we have a most careful account of the sects which sprang from Arianism or imitated it more or less. The persecutions they inflicted on the faithful were hardly less severe and persistent than those of the pagans. The churches were besieged and spoiled by the Eusebians in Alexandria; the assembled worshippers were massacred, the clergy trodden under foot, the women subjected to the most infamous profanations, and

[1] Heb. iv. 12.

then the bishops of surrounding sees were robbed, beaten, imprisoned, banished. "The sacred elements of the Eucharist were scornfully cast about by the heathen rabble, which seconded the usurping party; birds and fruits were offered in sacrifice on the holy table, hymns chanted in honor of the idols of paganism, and the Scriptures given to the flames." In the chapter on the Semi-Arians the device of employing only Scriptural terms is exposed, and under that of the Athanatians the proceedings against St. Athanasius himself are painted in all their systematic villany. The sufferings and trials of Hosius, also, at the age of one hundred and one, are related in an affecting style, and the terrific onslaught of Syrianus, Duke of Egypt, on the orthodox Christians and Athanasius himself, as reported in his *Apologia de Fuga*.[1] The following passage relating to Julian, the Apostate, seems worthy of being extracted. The reflective Christian historian appears in it to great advantage: "The object of Julian in recalling the banished bishops was the renewal of those dissensions, by means of toleration, which Constantius had endeavored to terminate by force. He knew these prelates to be of various opinions, Semi-Arians, Macedonians, Anomœans, as well as orthodox, and, determining to be neuter himself, he waited with the satisfaction of an Eclectic for the event, being persuaded that Christianity could not withstand the shock of parties, not less discordant, and far more zealous than the sects of philosophy. It is even said that he 'invited to his palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters.'[2] But in indulging such anticipation of overthrowing Christianity he but displayed his own ignorance of the foundation on which it was built. It could scarcely be conceived that an unbeliever, educated among heretics, would understand the vigor and indestructibility of the true Christian spirit; and Julian fell into the error, to which, in all ages, men of the world are exposed, of mistaking whatever shows itself on the surface of the Apostolic community, its prominences and irregularities, all that is extravagant, and all that is transitory, for the real moving principle and life of the system. It is trying times alone that manifest the saints of God, but they live notwithstanding, and support the Church in their generation, though they remain in their obscurity. In the days of Arianism, indeed, they were in their measure revealed to the world; still, to such as Julian, they were unavoidably unknown, both in respect to their numbers and their divine gifts. The thousands of silent believers, who worshipped in spirit and in truth, were obscured by the tens

[1] See "Bright's Historical Introduction to Writings of St. Athanasius," pp. lxvi.–lxxii. Oxford, 1881.

[2] Gibbon's "Rise and Fall," ch. xxiii.

and twenties of the various heretical factions, whose clamorous addresses besieged the imperial court; and Athanasius would be portrayed to Julian's imagination after the picture of his own preceptor, the time-serving and unscrupulous Eusebius. The event of his experiment refuted the opinion which led to it. The impartial toleration of all religious persuasions, malicious as was its intent, did but contribute to the ascendency of the right faith; that faith which is the only true aliment of the human mind, which can be held as a principle as well as an opinion, and which influences the heart to suffer and to labor for its sake."

Many passages in the *Historical Sketches* and others of the Cardinal's historical works affect the mind as if they were poetry. Such are, for instance, one on Athens and one on Oxford; another on the death of St. Bede, and others on Abelard, the election of Pius V., the battle of Lepanto, the religious history of England, Catholicism in England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and the re-establishment of the hierarchy—the three last occurring in the *Occasional Sermons*.

Cardinal Newman's reputation as a writer of history does not rest only on his "Arians." The articles which he wrote on "Primitive Christianity," "Apollonius of Tyana," "Chrysostom," "Theodoret," "The Mission of St. Benedict," and "The Benedictine Schools," and the lectures which he delivered on "The History of the Turks in its Relation to Christianity"—all of which are now collected in three volumes of *Historical Sketches*—are characterized by the same marks of literary excellence. There is nothing heavy or superficial about them, and they not merely served a special purpose when they first appeared, but the solidity of their arguments and the interesting manner in which they narrated facts have entitled them to a permanent place in literature. There is no sphere better suited to an all around man of letters than that of rector of a university, and there is none in which a pseudo man of letters appears more ridiculous. Cardinal Newman has discharged that office with dignity, and among many proofs of his admirable fitness has given that of delivering weighty lectures and writing thoughtful essays on the subject of university education. These publications have become textbooks, and have thrown new light on every branch of the question of an ideal university. Addressed to the Catholics of Dublin and to the members of the Catholic University, they were composed with singular care, and flow, as it were, with milk and honey. There is a pathos in their wisdom which is very touching, and in their grace and strength alone, without regard to the matter, they speak the praises of knowledge and cultivation of mind. The thing expressed is recommended and endeared to us by the charm of the expression. No

one is farther than Cardinal Newman from thinking that if something be said it matters little how it is said. Anyone could have said that if the Holy See condemns mixed education we ought to be satisfied and to condemn it likewise. But mark the elegance and persuasiveness with which he gives expression to the thought: "In the midst of our difficulties I have one ground of hope, just one stay, but, as I think, a sufficient one, which serves me in the stead of all other argument whatever, which hardens me against criticism, which supports me if I begin to despond, and to which I ever come round when the question of the possible and the expedient is brought into discussion. It is the decision of the Holy See; St. Peter has spoken; it is he who has enjoined that which seems to us so unpromising. He has spoken, and has a claim on us to trust him. He is no recluse, no solitary student, no dreamer about the past, no doter upon the dead and gone, no projector of the visionary. He for eighteen hundred years has lived in the world; he has seen all fortunes; he has encountered all adversaries; he has shaped himself for all emergencies. If ever there was a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who has confined himself to the practicable, and has been happy in his anticipations; whose words have been facts, and whose commands prophecies, such is he in the history of ages who sits from generation to generation in the chair of the Apostles as the Vicar of Christ and the Doctor of His Church."

The cogency of Cardinal Newman's arguments on the necessity of including theology among the subjects taught at a university is unequalled by any other author. The ideas he expresses are cast into so firm a mould that they seem to be the result of long years of reflection and experience. They have not been arrived at by the leaps and bounds of a brilliant imagination, the force of daring genius, or the zeal of an ardent discoverer in seas of thought. They have the more transcendent merit of being weighted with wisdom, stately, calm, and crystal clear. Where all is so thoroughly thought out and beautifully unfolded it is difficult to make selections, and one paragraph is about equal to another, though some will strike individual minds more than others. We are constantly meeting with passages as vigorous and suggestive as this:

"The word 'God' is a theology in itself, indivisibly one, inexplicably various from the vastness and the simplicity of its meaning. Admit a God, and you introduce among the subjects of your knowledge a fact encompassing, closing in upon, absorbing every other fact conceivable. How can we investigate any part of any order of knowledge and stop short of that which enters into every order? All true principles run over with it; all phenomena converge to it; it is truly the First and the Last. In word, indeed,

and in idea it is easy enough to divide knowledge into human and divine, secular and religious, and to lay down that we will address ourselves to the one without interfering with the other, but it is impossible in fact. Granting that divine truth differs in kind from human, so do human truths differ in kind one from another. If the knowledge of the Creator is in a different order from knowledge of the creature, so, in like manner, metaphysical science is in a different order from physical, physics from history, history from ethics. You will soon break up into fragments the whole circle of secular knowledge if you begin the mutilation with divine."

Since the time when these Lectures on the Idea of a University were delivered, agnosticism, positivism, and atheism, have widely extended, and in France have become dominant. But this does not diminish the force of Cardinal Newman's reasonings on the subject, but rather shows how he was gifted with a prophetic spirit, and clearly foresaw the issues towards which the separation of secular knowledge from religious in schools, colleges, and universities was tending. The course of events has amply justified his predictions and warnings. The seeds were then being sown, from which the enemy of mankind is now reaping such abundant harvest, and it is made to us more than ever clear that theology is a branch of knowledge, that it has bearings on all other knowledge, and that all other knowledge has bearings on it. This is Newman's great theme. In his Lectures on University Subjects he handles pure literature, pointing out in what it consists and how it stands in relation to science and to Christianity. He is essentially the man of letters in these addresses, and exemplifies his precepts by his own example. He has written brilliantly also on the "Benedictine Schools" in the *Atlantis*, and the essay was afterwards published in a series of "Historical Sketches." It sparkles with every kind and setting of literary jewelry. Always and everywhere he is the man of letters, whether supervising the *Atlantis* fresh from academician hands, or lecturing to the professors and students of the university he had built up. Nor can he cease to be so, because he has been so from the first—rejoicing as a giant to run his literary course; composing Latin verses as a boy of ten, and reading himself up to an intimacy with the chief thinkers at Oxford, Hurrell, Froude, Whately, Hawkins, Copleston, Jelf, Keble, Pusey, and William Palmer; writing poems for the Lyra Apostolica in the Straits of Bonifacio; editing Froude's remains; devoting himself to the study of the Fathers and translating St. Athanasius; preaching in the highest strain of intellect to all that was most intellectual in his Alma Mater; editing the British *Critic*; writing his *Arians* for the *Theological Library*, edited by the Rev. Hugh James Rose; throwing off a large number of those

wonder-working "Tracts for the Times," published first at the price of a penny each, which aroused the thought of an entire clergy, and ultimately of a great mass of the entire people; and then giving the Church of England in No. XC. a means of interpreting the Articles, so that, with them, they who signed them might take up "all Roman doctrines" and feel no hurt. It was the true and vital literary faculty, together with moral qualifications, which gave him this extraordinary power. At twenty-five he "had analyzed the constitution and history of every state in the world, ancient or still existing." At Oxford he never passed a day without writing a Latin sentence, either a translation or an original composition, before he had done his morning's work. "As well for present satisfaction as for future use, he wrote and laid by a complete history of every serious question in which he was concerned. It must be added that he did the same with every book he read, and every subject he inquired into." "He was one of the few people who could be called thoroughly acquainted with Gibbon's great work. He could recite many long passages of it, particularly the famous one in which Gibbon describes the changelessness of agriculture and the simple arts in the midst of changing governments, religions, and manners. He knew well Hume's Essays. He had Tom Paine's works under lock and key, and lent them with much caution to such as could bear the shock."[1] Nor did these habits forsake him when he retired to Littlemore and set on foot the Lives of the Saints, while engaged in composing his Essay on Development, and preparing to go forth whither God should call him. Not for a moment did he lay aside his literary character, and in that respect the great change of his life brought no change at all. The new sphere into which he entered, if more limited on the Anglican side, was more extended on the Roman. In Rome itself, whither he repaired soon after his conversion, he published a Latin Dissertation, and from that time to the present he has been without pause conversant with letters. Unlike the vast majority of English converts, and indeed unlike any convert of whom I have heard, he has continued to supervise the republication of his works, written while in the Anglican Church, so that they will be handed down to posterity in their entirety, supplemented and corrected by his own hand. His audience has not diminished through his secession from Anglicanism. The English reading public in general, or at least the more intellectual portion of them, feel that they cannot afford to lose him, and they console themselves for his, to them, incomprehensible absence by poring over his matchless compositions. Their admiration reacts upon the Catholic body, in which he

[1] Mozley's Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement, vol. i. p. 40.

lives and moves, and they are led by non-Catholic critics of distinction to revere him as an author more highly than they would have done, if those to whom he once belonged had cast out his name as evil and left his books uncut. There is little fear now of England forgetting the part he has played in the history of English letters. Though almost all the works he has published, the *Arians* excepted, have been of the occasional sort, thrown off to meet an emergency and suggested by the circumstances of the moment, they have taken their place in the literature of the land, by reason of the thought with which they are weighted and *lo bello stile*—the Virgilian purity of language in which they are clothed. Those who heard his Lectures on Difficulties in Anglicanism, on the State of Catholicity in England, on the Turks, and on University Subjects, and the Nature and Scope of University Education, or the Occasional Sermons and the Sermons addressed to Mixed Congregations, knew that they would live, and that they had in them the seeds of literary immortality which the hand of genius alone can sow. He may drop in subsequent editions his scathing refutation of Charles Kingsley's calumnies and thirty-nine "blots," but this also will survive the wreck of time as one of the most pungent and pointed pieces of composition he ever gave to print. His impeachment of Achilli before the moral world is embodied in one of a series of Lectures, and will long be remembered. It held up an impostor to scorn, and was crowned with immediate and complete success. The wretched man fled to the ends of the earth, and his name was never heard of again. Meanwhile Newman was accepting patiently the seclusion of Edgbaston, yet ever ready to emerge when the nascent Catholic University of Dublin called him to be its Rector, or when proposals were made for establishing a Catholic mission and branch of the Oratory at Oxford. Whenever his voice was heard, it had the power of Orpheus over a listening multitude. His "Apologia" turned the hearts of thousands. Its candor carried conviction in every quarter. "He threw, as it were, the lime-light upon his intellectual nature, analyzed his own motives, explained his own beliefs and his own reasons for holding them. As a psychological study, as a remarkable example of searching and faithful introspection, the 'Apologia' will take its place among the English classics. No more acute self-analysis had ever been unreservedly communicated to the world."[1] Hardly, as another critic observed, do the "Confessions of St. Augustine" more vividly reproduce the old African Bishop before successive generations in all the greatness and struggles of his life, than do these pages the very inner being of this remarkable man.

[1] Henry J. Jennings, "Cardinal Newman, The Story of his Life," p. 93.

One passage in this autobiography was at the time of the publication singled out by the *Saturday Review* as "one of the finest in the English language." "To consider the world in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading of idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, 'having no hope and without God in the world,'—all this is a vision to dizzy and appal; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution."

The very title and office of Cardinal, though conferred for reasons that rise far above all literary considerations, seem to impart an additional claim to literary distinction in cases where that distinction has been already attained. Newman is more than ever the man of letters since the Pontiff chose him to be a member of the Sacred College, whence the sovereign Pontiffs spring, and which has numbered so many illustrious literati in its ranks. Nor could any one have been found more fit than Newman to have his name associated with Nicholas de Cusa, Ximenes, Bellarmine, Sadoleto, Mai, Mezzofanti, Wiseman. The nation entire, irrespective of religious differences, feels a sort of pride in the honor done to him. Since being clothed with the purple, Cardinal Newman has published two volumes, the least known and read of all his works, yet the most scholarly. They are a free translation of *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius in controversy with the Arians;* and the volume containing them is followed by a second, being an *Appendix of Illustrations.* The version from the Greek is in the most fluent and elegant English possible under such circumstances; they form a supplement to the author's *History of the Arians*, and are in the order of his published works the omega of which the *Arians* was the alpha. The *Appendix of Illustrations* contains a series of very curious, profound, and interesting observations on subjects bearing on points discussed or alluded to in the writings of the great champion of the faith against the errors of Arius. They are arranged

alphabetically, and number seventy-four, besides fifty-six with Greek headings, which are comments on Greek terms employed in the foregoing Treatises. They have a twofold value, one theological and the other philological. It would be difficult to overestimate the suggestive force of some of these notes, and one might, by way of example, refer to those headed "Eusebius," "Cursus Publicus," "Deification," "Economical Language," "Use of Force in Religion," "Ignorance assumed economically by our Lord," and "The Blessed Mary."[1] It will not be Cardinal Newman's fault if the study of the greatest of the Fathers, so far as concerns the divinity of Christ, be suffered to decay. He, indeed, would do all that becomes his sacred office to promote a better acquaintance with the Greek classics in general, as the earliest and grandest literary efforts of the human brain, which, like those in the sister arts, have never been surpassed, and, after a lapse of more than two thousand years, still entrance the imagination with their inimitable charms, originality, and freshness. He would imbue the minds of laymen and clergy alike, in all possible cases, with the war of Troy and the wanderings of Ulysses, as related by the prince and father of poets, the severe wisdom of Æschylus, the choral odes of Pindar, the sublime and subtle speculations of Plato, the unadorned and manly annals of Thucydides, the elegant diction of Xenophon, the humor of Lucian, the clenching might of Demosthenes, and the graces of the Greek Anthology. But if he would willingly imbue them with this ancient and pagan lore, how much more with the patriotic Greek of Irenæus, Origen, the Cyrils of Alexandria and Jerusalem, Basil, Chrysostom and Athanasius? Is it nothing to sit face to face with the very words and forms of thought of the *Apologia contra Arianos* of St. Athanasius—the true church history of some one-and-twenty years? Is it a small matter in the work of education and mental culture to con the epistles of that eminent saint and doctor to the prelates of Egypt and Lybia, to Constantine, to Serapion concerning the death of Arius, and his autobiographical *Apologia de Fuga?* What a delight and privilege to read his historical writings as edited by Dr. Bright of Oxford, according to the Benedictine Text! "Athanasius," writes Cardinal Newman, "is a great writer, simple in his diction, clear, unstudied, direct, vigorous, elastic, and above all characteristic."[2] And again: "This renowned Father is in ecclesiastical history the special doctor of the sacred truth which Arius denied, bringing it out into shape and system so fully and luminously that he may be said to have exhausted his subject, so far as it lies open to the

[1] See the "Weekly Register," July 29th, 1882, where I have reviewed Cardinal Newman's translation of St. Athanasius more at length.

[2] Select Treatises of St. Athanasius, vol. ii. p. 3.

human intellect. . . . His earliest works, written when perhaps he was not more than twenty-one, give abundant evidence of a liberal education. He had a knowledge of Homer and Plato; and his early style, though it admits of pruning, is graceful and artistic. . . . Gibbon grants that his writings are 'clear and persuasive.' Erasmus seems to prefer him, as a writer, to all the Fathers, and certainly in my own judgment, no one comes near to him but Chrysostom and Jerome."[1]

The second edition of the *Select Treatises of Athanasius against the Arians* is not identical with the first, published at Oxford in Dr. Pusey's *Library of the Fathers.* Five of the Treatises included in that collection have here been omitted, and the translation itself is of a freer kind.[2] Several reasons for these alterations are given in an Advertisement prefixed to the first volume, in which the translator explains many things with his usual modesty, and adds that "the quotations from the Holy Scripture remain here, as in the Oxford edition, in the Protestant version, except in cases in which the context of the passage of Athanasius, to which they severally belong, required an alteration in them; except in such cases, a change did not seem imperative, and would give great trouble." When those who will come after us shall foreshorten the view of Newman's work and career as a theologian and man of letters, they will approve and admire the fact of his first and last energies, as a writer, having been bestowed on the history of Arianism and the writings of Athanasius. Never has the Church been so fearfully harassed and imperilled as she was during the period that elapsed between the Council of Nicæa and the death of Constantius, because the controversies which were then rife turned on the most fundamental articles of the faith. "Nothing," writes the Cardinal in a note to the Epistle of Athanasius on the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, "is more instructive in the whole of this eventful history than the complication of hopefulness and deterioration in the Oriental party, and the apparent decline yet advance of the truth. Principles, good and bad, were developing on both sides with energy. The fall of Honorius and Liberius, and the disastrous event of Ariminum, are close before the ruin of the Eusebian power. At this critical moment Constantius died, when the cause of truth was only not in the lowest state of degradation because a party was in authority and vigor who could reduce it to

[1] Ibid., p. 58.

[2] There is even an omission in the following passages respecting the Nicene formulary. "From which, if aught were subtracted, an opening is made to the poison of the heretics." But the Greek stands thus in the Benedictine Text (Bright, p. 253): Ἐν, ᾗ ὄντως καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι τι σφαλερὸν, καὶ τὸ ἀφελέσθαι τι ἐπικίνδυνον ὑπάρχει· κ. τ. λ. Thus the reference to the danger of adding to the creed is lost. See Newman's Select Treatises of St. Athanasius, 2d edition, vol. i. p. 74.

a lower still; the Latins committed to an Anti-Catholic creed, the Pope deluded, Hosius fallen and dead, Athanasius wandering in the deserts, Arians in the sees of Christendom, and their doctrine growing in blasphemy, and their profession of it in boldness, every day. The Emperor had come to the throne when almost a boy, and at this time was but forty-four years old. In the ordinary course of things he might have reigned till, humanly speaking, orthodoxy was extinct."

It is time to draw these remarks to a close, though the subject is far from being exhausted, or anything more than an approach being made to adequate treatment. "Newman's publications," says the Rev. Thomas Mozley, his brother-in-law, "are before the world; they are before all time, as long as the English language is spoken, and as long as this is a people and an empire."[1] In his Lecture on Athens he has given us one of his most unique and thoroughly literary essays. The matter may, indeed, be found scattered through the works of Lipsius, Morhof, Boeckh, and Becker, but supplemented by the lecturer's own recollections of the dramatists, philosophers, and orators of the amazing city of Minerva, with its hundreds, nay thousands, of students, attaching them to the chair of individual teachers, at a time when there were no booksellers and few libraries or books. It is running over with poetry and the best part of poetry, feeling. And as with Athens, so with other subjects, he has touched none which he has not adorned. Nothing which he has published wastes its sweetness on the desert air, or is likely to do so. Mr. Alfred Austin has spoken of him as "the man in the working of whose individual mind the intelligent portion of the English public is more interested than in that of any other living person,"[2] and those who have not time to master his thirty-six volumes, can enjoy the skilful selection of Mr. W. S. Lilly, published under the title of "Characteristics from the Writings of John Henry Newman." The beauty and brilliancy of this collection of jewels is such as to create regret only that they should be detached from their settings; but they may have, and have had, in very numerous cases, the effect of inspiring the wish and resolution to become acquainted with his works as a whole. A certain completeness will then be discovered in them, though the occasions which called them forth have generally been of an accidental nature. It will be seen how entirely, though not exclusively, the author bore a literary character, and must ever rank among those who devoted themselves to literature with the utmost success. It will be curious to trace his points of contact with other literary English divines, with Sir Thomas More,

[1] Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement, vol. i. p. 8.

[2] "Poetry of the Period," p. 178.

Tyndale, Dean Colet, Hooker, George Herbert, Jeremy Taylor, Bishops Burnet, Butler, and Paley. Hitherto non-Catholics have been foremost in sketching his life, and we owe to Froude the historian and brother of Newman's dearest friend, to Dean Stanley, Kegan Paul, Henry J. Jennings, Professor Shairp, and Mozley with his charming "Reminiscences of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement," some of the most truthful and appreciative comments that we can find on the writings of this great and good man, from whom and concerning whom we have still so much to learn. His vast correspondence has still to see the light, and it is said that much valuable manuscript of his is as yet unpublished.

CESARE CANTÙ AND THE NEO-GUELPHS OF ITALY.

I.

A COMPLETE list of the works which have issued from the pen of Cesare Cantù, now in his 76th year, would cover three pages of this REVIEW. The last volume of his *Universal History* was issued in 1848. The narrative portion of this monumental work comprises eighteen volumes octavo, and the supplementary portion, composed of most valuable documents, illustrative of the narration, is in seventeen volumes. Of the good effected by this single work, and of the influence exercised by the author, one may judge from the fact, that upwards of one million volumes of this *Universal History* circulate in Continental Europe.

Cesare Cantù's labors and well-earned popularity have now extended over half a century. And yet the year which has just closed, has seen him, during the great National Exposition in Milan, and the Geographical Congress in Venice, one of the most active and energetic among the galaxies of Italian and European men of letters, scientists, statisticians, and economists. He was one of the leading spirits who suggested and organized the most brilliant and successful National Exposition hitherto. The writer found him in early February, last year, installed in the Palace of Archives, of which he is prefect, presiding over committees of members of Parliament, artists, economists, manufacturers, and engineers; and preparing with them the plans and measures, which have since made the Milan Exposition a great success. The Fine

Art Exposition was to be held in the vast and beautiful courts of the Palace of Archives, and he was there directing the necessary preparations. When I left Milan in March he was confined to his bed by an attack of acute rheumatism, which kept him in his own room till late in April, and caused his friends and admiring countrymen not a little uneasiness. But he was able to be present at the grand opening of the Exposition in the first week of May; and the glorious weather as well as the genuine enthusiasm created by the magnificent spectacle offered by the display of Italy's industrial and artistic wealth, acted like a spell on that nervous and sensitive nature, and quickened it into new life and activity. Besides officiating, as a contemporary writer said, as the High Priest of the Fine Arts, in that beautiful palace built by St. Charles Borromeo for the education of the Swiss youth belonging to his diocese, he was president of one of the sections at the Congress of Venice.

At the close of the Exposition, King Umberto, who highly honors Cantù's inflexible Catholicity, placed the historian at his right hand at the great banquet given in Monza to the president and officers. Again and again they have tried to induce him to accept a place in the Italian Senate; but, having, as he told the writer, resigned his place in the Italian Parliament, when the rule *Nè eletti, nè elettori* was enforced, he would only wish to be in the lower chamber to defend once more with his unrivalled eloquence and courage, the cause of Catholic truth, and the interests of Catholic institutions.

As these lines are written—a fact of exceeding importance to the world of letters—Cesare Cantù is re-editing his *Universal History*, and recasting the whole of the first part, so as to give a thorough account of what prehistoric science has accomplished during the last half-century; and to record, as well, the transformations effected in the industrial, commercial, and social world since his history first appeared. During the first weeks of last December all Milan and the élite of Northern Italy assembled night after night to hear this wonderful old man, this great Catholic historian, explain to them what a true *Universal History* should be; reminding them of the hopes which filled men's souls when he first conceived and wrote his own great work; pointing out to them that he had regretted none of his former sacrifices, recanted none of his professions of religious or political faith, and renounced no one of the sacred principles which had been the soul of his life, and were the foundation of his undying hopes. The press of Milan—bitterly opposed as it is to the great Neo-Guelph and his avowed aspirations—was eloquent in praise of the wonderful freshness of imagination and grasp of intellect which he showed, night after night, in dealing with all the various and seemingly opposite mat-

ters which enter into the scope of a *Universal History*, comprising the origin and history of this universe as well as all the wondrous activity of man in every age and clime and phase of civilization.

Such, then, is the great figure whose life and labors, in connection with the struggles of the Church in Italy, during the last fifty years, which we wish to introduce to American readers in this and the following number.

Cesare Cantù was privileged to be born in the Brianza, the loveliest and most romantic portion of beautiful Lombardy. His native village of Brivio is situated on the right bank of the Addio, a few miles from the spot where this river issues from the Lake of Lecco, the eastern branch of Lake Como. From the very threshold of his father's house the boy could see the great monastery of Pontida, in which the representatives of the Free Cities of Northern Italy met, in April, 1167, to form the Lombard League. As he grew up, his mother fostered in him an earnest spirit of piety and a deep love for the ancient liberties of his native land.

In one of his latest publications,[1] especially popular in Milan, he touchingly related how his mind in childhood was fed by the story of Lombardy's conversion to Christianity. "How anxious I was to know all about it," he exclaims. "How I used to question my mother, or some aged neighbor!" Surely, a religious history in which the boy met with such names as Constantine the Great, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, to shed a lustre on the diocese in which he was born, must have fired his young imagination.

In the four first centuries during which Christianity grew and prospered in a city,—called even by Roman emperors the Second Rome,—glorious struggles marked the progress of the Christian Faith. To Milan belonged the patrician Vitalis and his wife Valeria, who devoted their substance and their lives to the cause of Christ, Vitalis winning at Ravenna the crown of martyrdom, and bequeathing to the city a name more imperishable than the splendid basilica reared above his grave. Valeria died heroically in Milan, leaving also behind her four sons, the infant-twins Aurelius and Diogenes, born during her imprisonment, and who lived to emulate the heroism of their parents,—Gervasius and Protasius, who crowned a noble life by a martyr's death. St. Augus-

[1] MILANO, Storia del Popolo e pel Popolo; new ed., Milan, 1881. "La storia di quei primi credenti non è affatto nostra? non ha sui nostri fatti influenza ben maggiore che quella dei re e degli croi? Ed io giovinetto oh come n'ero ansioso! oh come ne interrogavo mia madre e qualche vecchio vicino! E da essi, più che alle sottigliezze della critica abituati alla fede del carbonaro, imparai come a Milano sedesse anticamente un gran flamine, capo de' sacerdoti pagani, al posto del quale fu surrogato il vescovo; come quei primi vescovi fossero tutti santi, perchè quando la Chiesa celebrasa in vasi di legno, i suoi ministri crano d'oro, i quali poi divennero di legno quando d'oro ebbero i vasi." P. 18.

tine, while yet a catechumen, beheld their bodies borne in procession by St. Ambrose, and witnessed a miracle performed by these precious remains. A few years ago (August 8th, 1871,) the tomb in which Ambrose had deposited this treasure, and in which he wished to repose in death between them, was opened solemnly and the three bodies found exactly as tradition had always described them. St. Sebastian also was a native of Milan, and of the same heroic temper as these noble youths. We know how he went abroad to preach the faith, and was transfixed with arrows.

Such were a few only of the religious memories which fascinated the childish mind of Cesare Cantù, and challenged his generosity of soul. These names were no fictitious names. Enduring monuments,—the indestructible records of history, the universal love and veneration of all Christian peoples and ages, as well as the few temples and shrines spared by Frederick Barbarossa in 1162,—satisfied later the intelligent youth that his faith in these heroic beginnings was well founded. The family of Cantù, though ancient and once wealthy, was in very straitened circumstances at the beginning of the present century; so much so, indeed, that Cesare, after having passed through the hands of the village schoolmaster, took advantage of a burse founded by his own family to enter college. His extraordinary talents enabled him to complete his classical studies at a very early age. Not any too soon, however, as the death of his father left him the main support of his widowed mother and her two children. Nor was the brave-hearted youth unequal to the trust thus suddenly devolved on him. At 17, on leaving college, he obtained a chair of grammar in the Academy of Sondrio, the capital of the Valtelina. At 22, when his father died, he was fortunate enough to be promoted to a more honorable and lucrative position in Milan. Accompanied by his mother and her family, the young professor took up his residence in the capital of Lombardy, and devoted all his energies to creating for his beloved parent and her orphans a comfortable and honored home.

About this time appeared his first literary composition, *Algiso, o la Lega Lombarda*, a poem in four cantos, describing the heroic struggle of Milan against German domination, and the succession of events which led to the formation of the Lombard League. The poem is replete with the ardent spirit of religious faith, with the love of liberty and country, which have been like the breath of life to Cesare Cantù throughout his long and meritorious career. It was a timely composition, and at once caused its author to be welcomed in the literary circles of Milan as one of the Neo-Guelphs,—the brilliant writers, who, like Alessandro Manzoni, Massimo d'Azeglio, and Cesare Balbo, then labored to create an

Italy independent and thoroughly Catholic under the leadership of the Pope.

At the head of this band was Manzoni, and closely allied with him—in those years, at least,—both in religious sentiment and patriotic aspirations, was his son-in-law, Massimo d'Azeglio. Manzoni conceived a warm affection for the author of *Algiso*, and introduced him to the circle of choice spirits, who in looking forward to the emancipation of Italy from a foreign yoke, cherished also the hope of seeing her remain inviolably faithful to the See of St. Peter.

Manzoni, who, in publishing in 1828 his *Promessi Sposi*, had proposed to himself to glorify the heroism and piety of the Lombard people and their pastors under the oppressive Spanish domination, had also triumphantly refuted the anti-catholic slanders of Sismondi by publishing his *Morale Cattolica*. The bigoted Genevese historian of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, not satisfied with omitting, in his confused, arid, and most unsatisfactory narrative, the services rendered everywhere by the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood in creating communal liberties and fostering all the arts and virtues of social life, takes openly the side of barbarians and ruthless feudalism as against the Church, and flatly accuses the latter of being, through her system of morality, the cause of Italy's political decadence.

The writer of these lines believes he is only stating a fact, when he says that in preparing this noble apology for the Medieval Church, Manzoni received no little assistance from the future author of the *Universal History*. Such, at any rate, was the impression made on the author's mind by Cesare Cantù himself, who, when Sismondi's omissions and calumnies were mentioned, replied with his quiet smile: "You know how much we did here to vindicate Catholic morality and the salutary influence of the Medieval Church."

The fact is that Manzoni's beautiful novel, as well as the choruses of his tragedies and his "Sacred Hymns," aimed at one great purpose,—to inflame the Lombard imagination with the memory of the republican heroism of medieval Italy, and to fill its heart with the lofty spirit of faith and independence which animated the Lombards of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Both he and Cantù, in relating the history of the past and describing the vices and virtues of ancient peoples and epochs, sought only to teach their contemporaries, and to rouse in them a noble emulation of the heroic deeds of freemen and a fierce hatred of oppression and servility. The success which *Algiso* achieved in Lombardy and throughout all Upper Italy, had encouraged its author to study more seriously than he had hitherto done the history of

his native province. The fruit of this soon appeared in a monography of the Diocese of Como. This was his first historical essay, and was well received by the public, who saw in it all the qualities which were soon to shine pre-eminently in performances of a far more serious nature. But Cantù's intimacy with Manzoni, and the current of ideas and aspirations which the Neo-Guelphs were following with enthusiasm, led the former to study the Lombardy of the early seventeenth century, amid the society of which was laid the scene of the *Promessi Sposi.* The result of these studies was a "Commentary" on the novel itself, which the young author sent to a leading journal of Milan. It was rejected by the editor, "because," he said, "Manzoni's book was already dead." Another editor, however, undertook to publish it in the columns of his paper under the title of "Lombardy in the XVIIth Century." So favorably was it received, that it was immediately issued in book form, and, after many editions, it still enjoys undiminished popularity.

No doubt both Manzoni and his commentator endeavored to describe the Lombardy governed by the Austrians from 1828 to 1833, in the Lombardy oppressed by the Spanish rule in 1620. Such reflections as the following could scarcely fail to attract the attention of the omnipresent Austrian police of the day, or of the watchful and keen-eyed censors who controlled the press of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom:

"When has truth, the most invincible of forces, been overborne by sophistry or a charge of bayonets? Young men, let the fruits of our age only be given time to ripen. Meanwhile show yourselves faithful to morality and to truth, taking note of the distance which separates what has been achieved from what still remains to be accomplished. What progress may we not look forward to, if religion and liberty, public morality and private virtue, righteousness and state policy, should work together in perfect freedom, and thus pass from the region of mere intellectual theory into the real order of accomplished facts! Do not, in your impatience of all delays, point out to me the renewed wrongs and recent outrages of which civilization may justly complain. I can only remind you that the wrong-doers are men blind to the advance of the century in its fateful path." Such was the warning given to the Italian youth by the young author of *Algiso.*

This was the very year in which Mazzini organized his *Young Italy* in Marseilles, thereby giving to the revolutionary forces let loose in that country during the French rule, and increased by subsequent repression, the scientific form and proselytizing power which enabled this formidable society to overspread and overawe the entire Peninsula. The temporary expulsion of the Austrians

from Milan, in March, 1848, placed all the secret papers of the government in the hands of the insurgents,—in the hands of Cesare Cantù himself, who, after the defeat of Carlalberto and the withdrawal of the Piedmontese, assumed, with two other citizens, the dangerous responsibility of treating with Radetzky. These secret archives, and all the other documents left behind by the Austrians in 1859, have been ever since placed under the guardianship of Cantù. They offer a most interesting and instructive study to the historian, disclosing as they do the unscrupulous and successful means taken by the cabinet of Vienna and its representatives in Italy, to discover and counteract the plots of the secret societies.

With these and their modes of action Cantù had no sympathy. No man could be a more ardent lover of his country, or yearn more unceasingly for her liberation from foreign rule, and her restoration to national unity and power, than the young professor. But he was for doing in the nineteenth century what his countrymen had done at Pontida and Legnano in the twelfth, for conspiring in the open day, beneath the eyes of all men, and for invoking on the common purpose of all liberty-loving Italians the blessing of God and the sympathy of all true men. His instincts and his conscience alike recoiled from placing himself, a passive and blind instrument, in the hands of a superior unknown to him, even though it were to accomplish a high and patriotic design.

Still, as the same candid and courageous nature, which forbade him to involve himself in these dark associations, led him also to avow openly his aversion to foreign rule and to seek companionship with many public men suspected as conspirators or known as such to the police,—the patriotic sentiments so eloquently expressed in the *Storia di Coma* and the *Lombardia*, caused their author to be closely watched, and, at length, to be imprisoned.

During the night of November 10th, 1833, the police surrounded the house in which Cantù lived with his mother, and carried him off. About one hundred other Italians were arrested at the same time. All his papers and private correspondence were seized and taken away to police headquarters. There they were submitted to the closest scrutiny for the purpose of establishing the fact of his connection with some of the secret organizations, into which the youth of Lombardy and all Italy were fast drifting.

There was, indeed, at the time, some ground for suspecting Cesare of some such connection. For, while most ably discharging his office of teacher in the university, he also formed one of a numerous and distinguished class of scholars, who perfected themselves in the science of jurisprudence under the illustrious Romagnosi. This great man had himself endured such rigors as have been so touchingly described in the pages of Silvio Pellico. Once

freed from captivity, however, Romagnosi endeavored to continue his law lessons without getting involved in any of the political movements which had already brought himself so much suffering. Still, of the numerous young men who profited by his teaching, all, it may safely be said,—with the single exception of Cantù,—belonged to some one or other of the secret societies. They had besought him to draw up for them the sketch of a constitution such as was suited for the free Italy of their fond dreams and constant aspirations. To this Romagnosi consented, but declined communicating with them otherwise than through Cantù, who was entirely ignorant of the nature of the documents which he received from the master and handed over to the scholars.

We can easily imagine the consternation of both the one and the others, when Cantù was suddenly seized by night, and himself and every scrap of paper found in his house borne off by the all-powerful emissaries of government. Still Romagnosi and the young men for whom he had once more imperilled liberty and life, trusted Cantù utterly. The issue proved how well placed was this trust. Though subjected daily to the most ingenious cross-questioning, and plied by every artifice of fear and seduction known to his skilful jailors, the generous youth, warm, nervous, impulsive by nature, was never led into a single admission, or to the utterance of a single hasty word, capable of injuring the men who loved and trusted him.

When, after thirteen months of rigorous seclusion and unceasing moral torture, Cantù was restored to liberty, Manzoni folded him with tears to his breast, exclaiming: "This day gives me as much happiness as that other day in 1824, when I welcomed my friends from the prison of Spielberg." And so thought every generous-minded person in Milan. But Romagnosi, whose life depended on a single unwary expression drawn from Cantù during the long months of his solitary confinement, could not restrain his joy and admiration when Cantù stood free before him. "I never for a moment feared," he said to him, through his emotion, "that you would compromise me. Only, old as I am, my experience had never taught me anything so bitter as the anguish endured for your sake."

Cesare Cantù was now free from physical constraint, still, he was well aware, every movement and word of his were closely watched by the ubiquitous spies of the Viennese government. He had been, when deprived of his liberty, the sole support of his widowed mother and her large family. His imprisonment had left them absolutely dependent on the kindness of strangers. The thought of this was the most cruel torture suffered by Cantù during his

captivity; and it found vent in the touching poems which he composed in his cell:

"E ai patelli, auzi mici figli
Che più il pau dividerà?"

On leaving prison, he was informed that he could no longer teach in any capacity, and that whatever he published would be subjected to the severest censorship. This was, so far as the government could, to reduce him either to starve, or, in pity for the dear ones dependent on him, to compel him to accept the degrading offers held out to him in prison. We shall see presently what a noble use Cantù made of the necessity thus forced upon him. Let us only admire here the uses to which the young prisoner put the long solitude of his thirteen months' imprisonment.

Zajotti, the chief of the secret police, at whose instigation Cantù had been arrested, was himself a man of some literary pretensions, who, in more than one instance, betrayed a spiteful jealousy of Cantù's superior talent. One of the most painful trials to which he put the latter's power of endurance was to deprive him of books, pen, ink, and writing paper. Hence the lines in which the prisoner expresses his grief at the loss of his loved companions:

"O mie carte! O libri amati,
Dolce causa de mici guai,
Quanto mai non v'ho bramati
Fra l'inezzia che passò!"

His, however, was not a spirit to be cast down by such treatment; and to the cruel devices of his chief tormentor he replied by ingenious devices which supplied the want he felt. He carefully treasured up every scrap of waste paper he could lay his hands on; selected the strongest straws of his paillasse and made pens of them, and with the burned wick of his candle he made ink. He was thus enabled to write not only his most touching detached verses, but his sacred hymns, and the whole of his beautiful historic romance *Margherita Pusterla*, which, after thirty-eight Italian editions in every form, is still in as great favor as ever. His was a deeply Christian as well as a liberty-loving soul; and persecution and imprisonment only served to purify its native springs of piety, and to exalt the ardent love of country, and the intense aspirations after independence. The scene of the story is laid amid the long struggle for liberty of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the epoch which called into existence such men as Loderingo d'Andalò and Catalano Catalani.

On reading the first lines addressed to the reader, one feels that the book is the offspring of a well-tried soul, conceived in sorrow and destined only for the sorrowing:

"Reader, hast thou suffered? . . . No! . . . Well, then, this book hath not been written for thee."

Alas! in the Italy of to-day, as in that of 1833, there are millions of the noblest and the best, of the most heroic lovers of religion and of liberty, who are impelled by these words to open the book, and who find in its every page encouragement to endure bravely for the right, and an eloquent exhortation to hope in the immortality of true liberty wedded to true religion. Nor is this true of Italy only; there are other lands where the teachings of *Margherita Pusterla* appeal to suffering patriotism and piety.

Nor was this the only fruit which the genius of Cesare Cantù produced during these thirteen months of solitary confinement. He there conceived also the plan of his *Universal History.*

How was he to write, however, when all the influence of the government was employed to thwart every literary undertaking of his, and when his ability as a teacher and his popularity as a patriotic citizen only exposed him to a relentless persecution, which deprived him effectually of all legitimate means of subsistence? It was then that he was happily inspired to write these exquisite works for children and boys, that have been translated into foreign languages, and have helped to leaven so many thousands of young hearts with the deep religious fervor and the ardent patriotism which have never ceased to burn in the author's own soul.[1]

While producing in rapid succession these admirable educational works, Cantù was also preparing the first volumes of his *Universal History.* The public was favored from time to time with specimens of the indefatigable writer's handiwork in the series of monographies, issued together at a later epoch as the *Minor Histories*, comprising, besides *Como*, the *Ezzelins da Romano*, *The Massacre of the Valtellina*, *La Brianza*, *Venezia*, the *Storia di Milano*, and *Il Carlambrogio di Montevecchia.* To these golden gifts of his Catholic genius, bestowed on Italian families in the hour of their sorest need, were added afterward *Il Galantuomo* ("The Honest Man"), ATTENZIONE! *Riflessi d'un Populano* ("ATTENTION! Reflections of a Man in the Crowd"), *Portafoglio d'un operajo* ("A Workman's Pocket-book"), *Il Trionfo del lavoro, o l'operajo di Val Monterone* ("The Triumph of Labor, or the Workman of Val Monterone"), and, finally, *Buon Senso et Buon Cuore* ("Good Sense and Good Heart").

[1] Such are, among others, *Il bambino* ("The child"), *Il buon fanciullo; Racconto d'un maestro elementare* ("The Good Boy; or a Schoolmaster's Tale," a most attractive and interesting book); *Il giovinetto dirizzato alla bonta*, etc. All these works differ entirely from educational works in vogue among us; they are vivid sketches of the surrounding social conditions against which the youth of Italy have to struggle in order to be true to all their duties.

These beautiful works were the statues, the grottoes, the gushing fountains, the shady walks, and restful nooks prepared for the instruction and delight of the popular crowd near the abode of imperial genius; the *Universal History*, with its great attendant and subsequent publications, was the stately edifice, growing in magnificence with each succeeding year, to the enjoyment of whose treasures only the cultivated found admittance.

It speaks volumes for the indomitable energy of Cesare Cantù that, in spite of the proscription practiced by the Austrian government he succeeded in publishing his *Universal History*. Within the Austrian dominions no one could be found willing to brave the manifold risk of such an undertaking. The author was fortunate in finding in Pomba, of Turin, a publisher spirited enough to take up the historian's manuscript. Still it was done with extreme caution. The first volume was to be issued in forty successive numbers, the publisher reserving to himself the liberty of stopping at the end of the fortieth number if it were found that the work was not popular.

The appearance of the very first number gave rise to a storm of adverse criticism. Cesare Cantù, like Manzoni, Balbo, Massino d'Azeglio, Gioberti, Rosmini, and others, was known to be a Neo-Guelph; that is, one of those who advocated with voice and pen an Italy freed from all foreign domination and united, under the leadership of the Pope, in one great, powerful, and progressive federation. This had been the dream of Cantù's whole life, and had inspired every one of his writings; but nothing could be more distasteful to the powerful sects of the Carbonari and Young Italy,—to the latter, especially,—whose energetic organization was fast absorbing all the discontented, irreligious, and turbulent elements in the Italian populations. Neither the followers of Mazzini nor the Carbonari wanted to see Italy led by the Papacy, and the men who, in Piedmont, were even then planning a Kingdom of Italy ruled by the dynasty of Savoy, looked with extreme aversion on the Lombard Neo-Guelphs. The conservatives of the school of Metternich shook their wise heads at the liberal and humanitarian tendencies of the author, while the Revolutionists and Radicals of every grade denounced him as a medieval bigot. The ultra-liberal reviewers thought to kill the work outright by designating it as the production of a *Jesuit*. On the other hand, Cantù was kindly warned by the Roman censors that several things in the book needed correction.

It was a kind warning, privately given,—not to dishearten, but to guide and encourage,—and it was kindly taken. Forthwith, a most respectful answer was sent. The historian was too loving and enlightened a son of the Church not to accept with unreserved

submission and heartfelt gratitude the monition so delicately communicated.

And the submission brought him a blessing. In spite of the powerful opposition of the press and the utmost efforts of the *sects*, the completed volume was translated at once into the principal European languages, and had several editions in Italy. There was no further question as to the success of this great literary enterprise. Volume after volume appeared, and was welcomed with ever-increasing delight by European scholars till the last, which was issued in 1848—just when the fall of Louis-Philippe shook every throne in Continental Europe and opened anew the era of revolution.

We are sorry, for the sake of the men who misrepresented in Lombardy the conservatism of Austria, to have to mention here one of the most abominable intrigues ever devised by the worst of governments to injure the fair fame and ruin the influence of a public man. Among the papers of the Austrian police left behind in Milan after the evacuation of that city by the Viennese officials in 1859, is one marked 2336, which Cesare Cantù can show to the student of history in the Palace of the Archives. Toward the end of 1847, just when the last volume of his history was in the hands of the printers, the author was ordered, at a moment's warning, to quit Italy *and travel for some time along the seaboard of Istria and Dalmatia.*

Meanwhile Sedlinski, the Austrian minister of police, sent orders to make a thorough search in Cantù's residence, where every scrap of paper was seized and carried off to police headquarters. This order is the paper referred to as No. 2336, and here is the answer of the Milanese chief of police, Foresani, to his superior in Vienna: "Cantù," he says, "is too cunning and clever to allow us to find lying about any papers that might compromise him, especially since our former domiciliary visits. . . . . But I have already had the honor of proposing to your excellency the very best of expedients for ruining Cantù and lowering his excessive pride. You should make him pass *for a political emissary in the pay of Austria, entrapping persons into his confidence only to sell them to the Government.* Begin by putting him in the pillory, by inserting an article in the *Universal Gazette of Augsburg, insinuating that he is so employed.* This is my answer to your dispatch of December 22d."

Cantù had returned to Milan just when the Archduke Renier had ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned beyond the confines of Italy. By the merest chance he escaped his pursuers and fled into Piedmont. But even there he found that the agents of Austria had inserted in the Turinese journals the very same insinuations published in the *Augsburg Gazette.*

Then came the famous Five Days' insurrection in Milan, when the Austrian garrison, under Radetzsky, was driven by the unarmed citizens from house to house and street to street till they evacuated the city and retired within the fortresses of the Quadrilateral. The first rumor of the insurrection brought Cantù back to Milan, where he immediately set about moderating and directing the political opinions of his victorious fellow-citizens. He printed flying sheets and scattered them abroad among the people. These were full of timely words of wisdom. He was, like the noblest men in Lombardy and Venetia, both of which provinces soon found themselves free, anxious to establish a republican form of government. "A republic appeared to be," he says, "what was best suited to the wants of a country which had just been rebaptized in its own blood, and in which there were no dynasties to claim our respect, and no court nobility to bribe. As all classes had worked together to win our freedom, so all had a right to keep as great a share as possible of sovereignty. Were not all the glorious memories of Lombardy those of her republican days? On the other hand, the most determined opponents of republicanism hesitated not to say that the difference between a republican and a constitutional government was trifling or imaginary."

A republic in Northern Italy, however, was just what King Carl-alberto and those who, with him, sought at every price the domination of Piedmont over all Italy, did not want and were determined to prevent. He and his sons put themselves at the head of the twelve or fifteen thousand regular troops that were ready for the field, and marched into Lombardy and toward the Mincio. But while the Piedmontese were pursuing their own selfish purposes, and preparing, by a lamentable want of generalship, an easy triumph for Radetzsky, the cities of Lombardy and Venetia were heroically struggling to restore the Republican League of the twelfth century. Tommaseo and Manin, who were the leading spirits in the insurrection, had one heart and one mind with Cantù. They wished to realize the glorious dream of the Italian freedom of the Catholic ages.

Padua, which had risen in arms against its foreign masters at the sound of the cannon in Milan, succeeded in expelling them, and on March 26th issued a proclamation to its sister cities. "The people who have this day given us their powers," the provisional government says, "wishes but for one thing,—Italian union. Let there be no municipalisms! *The Republic of the Cities of Italy*, whatever may be its extension, must call itself Italian. Unite yourselves with Venice and the other cities which have declared themselves, or are ready to do so, in order to act together for one fraternal purpose. *Hurrah for the Italian Republic!*"

In the *Cronistoria, or History of Italian Independence*, Cantù, while generously praising his friends and co-operators in the work of restoring the old Lombard League, says little or nothing of the part which he had himself in the not inglorious efforts towards creating a Free and Catholic Italy. We have seen that he was born on the very spot which was the cradle of the famous League. The first production of his pen was devoted to its glorification, and to this theme of true Italian liberty, blending living faith with national independence, he returned lovingly again and again in his histories of Como and the Brianza, as well as in his beautiful *Margherita Pusterla*. Nay, even in his history of the *Religious Massacre of the Valtellina*, the indignation with which he denounces the unrighteous bloodshed, springs from his ardent love of freedom and of the pure faith of his fathers. He would not have them sullied by the red-handed fanaticism of those who covered their own evil passions with the zeal for Catholic truth.

All classes in Lombardy had felt the influence of Cantù's teaching; and the sentiments of all Catholic liberty-loving hearts in Northern Italy were expressed by Tommaseo, when, in what all hoped was the birth of Italian freedom, he wrote to his friend:

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, March 30th, 1848.

"DEAR CANTÙ: Our principles are more elevated than those held in Savoy. These can satisfy neither Lombards nor Venetians; no, not even the Genoese, or even the Sardinians, themselves. Such principles can only open up the whirlpool of revolutions. A republic seems to me to be unavoidable, if we would not fall back beneath the sway of an absolute monarchy. I do not think that the *name* of the thing will be potent enough to cure our inveterate wounds; but the word will make us feel their pains; and this will show that life is still left in us. It is most important that Venetia should unite with Lombardy as speedily as possible. It is most important that our wishes and our efforts should be directed toward that union: then, God will do the rest."

It was in furtherance of this plan of a Republican Confederated Italy, under the leadership of the Pope, that the Lombards celebrated "The Feast of Pontida." The following description, taken from a newspaper of the day, and quoted by Cantù in his *Cronistoria*, as well as the eloquent discourse delivered by the patriotic historian himself, shed a vivid light on the position assumed by the New Guelphs, and enable us all the better to understand the Piedmontese intrigues, which soon marred all the designs of a free, confederated Italy.

"A most sunny sky seemed to smile on this celebration. . . . From Bergamo had come a large gathering of gentlemen, and with them a select company of the national guard. Invitations had been sent to the neighboring committee of public security, and to other official bodies, among which was that of Lecco, so distinguished for its promptness in originating this movement and its

constancy in sustaining it. From Pontida, alone, came four hundred members of the national guard, all armed with the hunting-pieces which have won for the Bergamesques the reputation of being unerring shots. Many of the triumphal arches bore suitable inscriptions.

"On the square before the Monastery an altar had been erected beneath a large tri-color awning. But all ornament was forgotten in looking upon the multitude which filled the square and extended along the slopes of the surrounding vine-covered hills. A solemn mass was sung and a procession formed toward the altar, where the new flag of Lombardy was blessed and given into the hands of the commander. He, in his turn, made his men swear to die rather than permit this standard to be torn away from its native Alps. Then there was an address to the national guards by their chaplain, and, at length, a discourse from Cesare Cantù, who had come from his birthplace, Brivio, near at hand.

"'From my native spot, from my father's roof, one beholds yonder figure of St. James, high on your church-tower. Thus the images which impressed my mind from early childhood are connected with Pontida. And I who have wandered a pilgrim in quest of liberty and hope, who have sought for consolation and examples through every land which treasures the remembrance of Italian story, have many a time turned hither in order to call up the scenes of the memorable past. Two movements, in particular, challenged my veneration, inspired, as they were, by the same deep sentiments—of faith, concord, and liberty.

"'When along the valleys of the Sonna and the Brembo, all over the flowery territory of Lecco and the lovely hills of my own Brianza, raged the evil passions begotten by others, of strife between brothers, —from the portals of yonder convent,—the convent founded by himself,—came forth your blessed Albert, who, crucifix in hand, applied himself to stop contention, to appease and humble the proud oppressors of the land, and to teach the oppressed that on union and concord depended their salvation. At the words of this holy man anger was quenched, the murderous steel was laid aside, and all, while kissing the cross which he held forth to them, forgot all enmity, and cried aloud, as we do to-day, *Union and Liberty forever!*

"'But there came a time when concord, and with concord freedom, again disappeared from Lombardy. A king, profiting by passionate strife between sister cities, subjugated and destroyed Milan. Then the people bethought them that it is disunion among themselves which constitutes the might of kings. They sought once more peace with each other, and in the name of religion, yielding to a brother James of this same convent, and with the

blessing of Alexander III., they have bound themselves by oath in the Lombard League. They swore to defend each other against all foes; to look upon the wrong done to one as a wrong done to all; they swore to band themselves together in order to drive out the foreigner. No! a foreigner can never rule a country whose people is bent on being free. The straw huts of Alexandria and the plains of Legnano witnessed, together with the foreigner's overthrow, the fulfilment of the oath taken at Pontida. The victory resulted in the peace of Constance, which confirmed the existence of Republics embracing a large portion of Italy. So Italy was again saved by Religion, and concord had secured a confirmed liberty. *Religion forever*, then! *Concord forever! Liberty forever!*

"'When, amid the solitude of yonder convent, I recalled all these memories in silence and bitterness, Lombardy had again fallen beneath the rule of kings and foreigners, because she had unlearned what union meant, and had discarded the voice of Religion. To the generous among her sons nothing remained but impatience of the yoke, ill repressed by banishment and imprisonment, and the will to work while looking forward to the future,—and the future came with its blessed changes and with Pius IX. He taught us that Religion is the parent, the guardian, the moderator of liberty. And the voice of our brothers, echoing from Monte Viso to Mongibello, told how deeply we felt once more the importance of concord. Kings were troubled, peoples took heart, and when the fated hour came, we found ourselves mighty because we found ourselves united.

"'You men of Pontida have assembled in such multitudes, because besides the memory of the two great events of bygone times, you wished to celebrate a third,—the restoration of your independence, of that independence so long yearned for; which had cost us tears and sweat of blood, and whose first fruits we are now tasting.

"'But in order that they may come to perfect maturity and be long enjoyed, we must here recall by the aid of what virtues we acquired it. Wherefore you resolved that the blessing of the Church should consecrate your flag, and that your flag should bear the images of two Pontiffs belonging to widely different epochs, but one in their lofty purpose; and that this solemn inauguration should take place here, at the gate of this Monastery, which reminds you how often in the past brotherly union has secured us liberty.

"'You, therefore, who, subjects a few weeks ago, find yourselves free citizens to-day, and glory in the name of Italians, take to your hearts and kiss that flag, now hallowed by Christ's own blessing. The twofold image it bears represents the alliance which the

Church contracts anew with the State, of the union of Reason with Faith: its three colors recall the virtues indispensable to the loyal citizen.

"'Swear by this flag,—and let us all swear,—to free every inch of Italian soil from the pollution of German rule; to free it by every effort; to free it without delay, by taking our place in the crusade set on foot by all Italy. And having thus redeemed Italy, let us swear to maintain, inviolate and unstained, our liberty, our equality, our brotherhood. Yes, oh citizens! oh brothers! and you especially, worthy sons of the Bergamesques of other days, who habitually invited hither all Lombardy and the Romagna, to pledge themselves to the expulsion of the foreigner and the establishment of the league of Italian Republics; yes, it is with such sentiments that we may hope to perpetuate what we have won in the face of so many difficulties. After calling on the name of God, who alone giveth victory and freedom, let us lift up our voices in praise of Pius IX., and of that first of all blessings, and most sacred of all rights, Liberty. As in the days of the Blessed Albert, as in the time of Alexander III. and the Lombard League, let us shout once more: '*Religion forever! Union forever! Liberty forever!*'"

"This discourse," continues the *Journal*, "was often interrupted by peals of applause, to which the cannon from the neighboring hill responded with imposing voice. The spirited youth of Bergamo will never forget the impulse given to them on that day by the author of 'The League of Lombardy,' and the 'Universal History.' And when these young men were seen, continually, and by an irresistible impulse, running to Cantù, seizing him, kissing him, lifting him in turns in their arms, it was evident that they wished to honor in him the martyr of a sacred cause, of that liberty in which he never lost faith, in the days of terror, any more than in those when he was alternately flattered and deserted. No, we can never forget the moment when he, raising his sword above his head, called on us to swear vengeance on whosoever should propose a compromise or treaty with our foreign oppressors; and when we, as every sword leaped from its scabbard, repeated the oath, we felt as if the shades of the ancient heroes of the Lombard League assented to our solemn pledge."

Ah! had the Italy of 1848 been the Italy of 1167, the banner unfurled anew at Pontida, and hallowed alike by the most glorious memories of the past and the religious consecration of the present, would have soon become the Flag of Confederated Independent Italy. The religious and political faith which animated the eloquent historian, was then the faith not only of the mass of the Italian people, but of the purest and most exalted spirits who had won the right to speak for Italy. Every dearest interest counselled

the close union of Religion and Liberty in the new Italy for which labored and suffered Romagnosi and Silvio Pellico, Manzoni and Cantù, Cesare Balbo and Massino d'Azeglio, Tommaseo and Manin, Gioberti and Rosmini, and Pius IX.

What, then, was it that marred such noble aspirations, that disappointed all these high and holy hopes, that turned from its natural channels into quite an opposite course the united sentiments of patriotism and religious faith, which kindled such enthusiasm in the brave men assembled at Pontida on that memorable morning? Let me point out here a few causes but little known in America, and almost forgotten here in Europe.

Be it remembered that, while Cesare Cantù was laboring with his friends to revive a confederation of the True Republics of Italy, under the leadership of the Papacy, Mazzini was in Milan with his most active coadjutors, stirring heaven and earth, employing covert means and open means, in order to frustrate the aims of the Neo-Guelphs, and to impress on the minds of the Italian people the necessity of a Radical Italian Republic, with one representative chamber, without king, princes, priests, or papacy.

More than that, at the very moment the assembly at Pontida was unfurling once more the banner of the Lombard League of Free Cities, Carlalberto, King of Piedmont and Sardinia, was facing the Austrians along the Mincio, before being driven back, in disastrous rout, to Milan. Few of the readers of the REVIEW,—indeed, few American readers of any class, have understood the baneful and not very creditable part which this weak, wrongheaded, ambitious prince acted ever since 1820 in Italian affairs. While he was still Prince Royal, Carlalberto had not only encouraged the revolutionary movements which aimed at the overthrow of all foreign domination in Italy, but thrown himself into the ranks of the revolutionists, and then, when these were defeated, he basely abandoned them to their fate, and abjured, publicly, their principles and aims.

In 1848, this vacillating politician, blundering strategist, but ambitious king, threw himself into Lombardy,—ostensibly for the purpose of aiding and leading the national movement; really, and in fact, for the purpose of paralyzing, not only the designs of the Mazzinian Radicals, but the republican aspirations of the Neo-Guelphs, headed by Cantù and Manzoni, Tommaseo and Manin.

Cesare Cantù was the only man who had the courage to hold his place at the head of the republican municipality of Milan, when the Piedmontese army with the king and the royal princes took refuge within its walls, and when, after the abdication and flight of the king, the victorious Radetzsky appeared before the gates of the

city, it was with Cantù that he treated in drawing up the articles of capitulation.

It was also Cantù who bravely stood by the king in the hour of his utter prostration and despair, when the populace, maddened by the sudden frustration of their dearest hopes, and inflamed by the harangues and intrigues of the Mazzinians, surrounded the poor, sick, disheartened Prince, and would have dealt out to him and his Piedmontese the same measure which Radetzsky and his Croats had experienced during the glorious Five Days.

It is a pitiable story, told with a graphic power and simplicity by Cantù himself in his *Cronistoria*, or *History of Italian Independence*. Carlalberto, suffering intensely from intermittent fever, aggravated by his recent fatigues, his rapid flight, and the annihilation of his fond dreams of a Kingdom of Italy, with himself as its head, had retired to rest for a few hours. The remnants of the Piedmontese forces were encamped outside the walls of Milan, a detachment only of the Royal Guard being with the King inside the city. The members of the provisional government had prudently withdrawn into obscurity, as the sound of the approaching Austrian cannon warned them of their dangerous responsibility. At midnight a formidable insurrection broke out in Milan itself. The armed volunteers who had followed the Piedmontese banner to the battlefield, and the brave citizens who had fought the Austrians from house to house during the Five Days, had surrounded the palace in great numbers. They had heard that the King had signed an armistice with Radetzsky, securing the safety of his own troops, but abandoning Milan to the mercy of the revengeful Austrian commander. And now, the excited crowd wished to learn from the lips of Carlalberto himself, if he had indeed abandoned Milan to her fate and betrayed the cause of Italian Independence. The whole city was in commotion, and from the vast surging mass around the palace, loud cries for the King, mingled with curses and threats, rose upon the midnight air.

No mayor of Milan was to be found; no responsible person dared to venture near the palace or into the streets. Cantù alone, with the decision and bravery which ever characterized him, hastened to the King, woke him from his feverish slumber, helped him to put on his military uniform, and induced him to address the infuriated crowd beneath his windows.

Carlalberto was very tall and gaunt, Cantù is slight, and under the average stature. As they stood together on the balcony, the King, who was suffering a severe fit of ague, shook visibly, and leaned for support on the shoulder of the historian. It was a wild scene. The few torches borne by the crowd only deepened the surrounding gloom; and the delays which had occurred had ex-

asperated both volunteers and civilians. The King tried several times to speak, but the cries from below drowned his voice,—and among these cries, more than one accused him of treachery and cowardice. These were hard things for a King to bear. A last time the unhappy monarch essayed to speak, and had raised his arm so as to command silence, when a shot was fired from the crowd, and a musket-ball whizzed between himself and Cantù. With a cry which was half a moan, half a deprecation of pity, the King threw up his arms and instantly withdrew, while Cantu remained to remonstrate with the mob, whom he succeeded in pacifying somewhat. He then joined the King, into whose heart the cold edge of utter despair had just entered. "Then it was," Cantu remarks, "that I knew what bitter tears kings can weep." He helped the King to leave the palace and the city under the protection of his own guards. The next day Carlalberto was a fugitive from Italy.

He had succeeded in crushing the hopes of the Neo-Guelphs, in preventing the establishment of the Free Confederated Italy, which would have made of the present, in that beautiful land, the glorious and natural outgrowth of the Catholic past. As it was, Victor Emanuel was proclaimed on the morrow King of Piedmont, and he at once became the willing and unscrupulous tool of the anti-Catholic statesmen and unchristian principles which have created the Kingdom of Italy.

Still, though baffled and disappointed, Cesare Cantù never once was untrue to himself, to the convictions of his youth, or to the cause which he still advocates with an eloquence and a fervor that age cannot chill or disappointment diminish.

THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIETY TOWARDS RELIGION.

SOCIETY, what is it? There are three senses in which we may accept the word. First, there is what is called "good society:" a small coterie of more or less distinguished persons who move in an exalted social sphere, and exclude all who are below them from their company. Secondly, there is a larger meaning of the word, which is rather a set of thoughts than a set of people,—the general standard and temper of the educated mind of the day, its intellectual and moral aspiration. In this sense society is less regarded as a community than as a code of social maxims which pervade that community, or which are assumed to control it or to be made by it. Thirdly, there is a technical sense of the word,—that which is opposed to democratic ideas; as, for example, the present attitude of society in France *versus* the pulling-down principles of the Republic. That the French government is republican is accidental; but the essential characteristic of the present French Republic is its warfare against the force called society.

Of the first kind of society—"good" society—we may take the English aristocracy as an example. The difference between the English and the French aristocracy—between the Court of St. James in London and the Faubourg St. Germain in Paris—is that the former has no political enmity with the people, while the latter simply abhors the Republic. The "fortified refuge of antique bigotries," as a French writer somewhat savagely calls "the Faubourg," contains, no doubt, as "good" society as is to be found anywhere in Europe; but it is unfortunately "at daggers drawn" with France. English "good" society, though politically energetic, has the same political sympathies as have the commonalty. Where the sympathies part company is in a hundred social grooves, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently. But, as an example of "good" society, in regard to birth and education, and in regard to the emulations of public life, the English "upper ten thousand" may fairly vie with the "gentlemen" of any country north or south of the equator.

Of the second kind of society,—that imperium of ideas which pervade a more or less intelligent community,—we may say that it has three distinct phases,—the religious, the political, the conventional. We will speak now of the conventional phases only; of what are commonly understood by "social canons." These canons are comprehensive of elementary principles, as to behavior, morality, propriety. They include also minor canons upon taste in regard to a great variety of detail. A man who dares to act

outside such accepted canons is regarded as eccentric or culpable. He must be a man of surpassing genius or effrontery to be pardoned for such a heinous offence. And so imperious is the habit of obedience to such canons that a man naturally accepts it as inevitable. More than this, he feels excused from being original in himself, on the ground that he would be affecting superiority. This contentment with the "is," this enslavement by the "is," rules a man exteriorly and interiorly. Social canons become the swathing-bands of a man's lifetime. The tradition of obedience to the whole imperium of conventionalism, in its most comprehensive and despotic sense and sway, is the most powerful rule of life, because it is the most constant life of life, and is the covert and the apology of all weakness. Society becomes responsible for wrong principles, wrong conduct, in the millions who are the slaves of its canons; but who don't realize that what is absurdly called society is a combination of selfishness and vanity? And thus men live and die, mere cogs in a conventional wheel, to wake up in a future state and to apprehend that their cowardice was not the least ridiculous feature of their careers.

Thirdly, that sense of society which is embodied in such a formula as "government by the high born and the wealthy," or "society, the enemy of democracy," is the theory of the forces of accidental prosperity *versus* that of the forces of popular will. We all know that, in these days, there is a declared war by vast masses—we might almost say by whole nations—against what used to be the chief governing force,—society. We are not drawing a distinction between conservatives and liberals, for a liberal is no more necessarily a revolutionist than a conservative is necessarily a Catholic, but between those sections which love the old Christian order and those sections which try their best to pull it down. The transference of the governing forces from the higher orders to the lower orders is unhappily allied, even in the oldest Catholic countries, with enmity towards the Christian religion. And the reason of this alliance—paradoxical as it sounds—is not that revolutionists have a hatred of religion, but that society, in the old sense, had a love of it. Let us attempt an explanation of this paradox.

Society, in its old-fashioned Tory sense, always insisted on religion as the backbone of its power, as the prerequisite of all staidness and obedience. In other words, society allied itself with religion, using it as its strongest auxiliary. Even in the days of Louis XVI., just before the revolution, French society affected to be sternly Catholic, though French society was rotten to the core. Now this alliance of proud society with the hypocrisy of religion —for, in high circles, religion was half hypocrisy—led French democrats to detest the affectation of religion as a cloak for social

tyranny, social pride. Hence it has come to pass that we almost always find French democrats full of contemptuous dislike for "le clericalismy," not because they first hate religion, but first hate society which cherishes it. The same truth holds good in modern Italy. The Italian nobles or grandees have always allied themselves with the Church as the most powerful of machines for preserving order; and though, for the most part, they have been conspicuously "good" Catholics, they have, historically at least, been social tyrants. Italian democrats now recoil from Catholicity because Italian aristocrats have cherished it. "Odi odioque sum Romanis" might be altered, in the case of Italian democrats, to "I hate Roman Catholics because Roman Catholics have hated me." As in France so in Italy, the new democracy is anti-Catholic from spite against society, not against religion.

Thus, in the different meanings of the word "society" to which we have referred,—aristocratic, conventional, legislative,—we find plenty of causes to account for the opposition with which religion is greeted by revolutionists. It is no use to shut our eyes to the obvious truism that "le clericalisme" is understood to mean tyranny. We know, of course, that the misconception is ridiculous, but the knowledge does not help us to the remedy. We have to face the growing prejudice that "religious and social tyranny are combined in the minds of the upper classes." Society, in the old-fashioned sense of the word, has itself solely to blame for this prejudice. The Church cannot be held to be culpable. The only weakness of (some) ecclesiastics has been in permitting high society to import its social canons into religion. It was bad enough that society should be worldly. But society has made religion worldly too. We know how such grave prelates as Bossuet and Fénelon have spoken of this fashionable desecration. The tyranny of the French nobility before the great revolution was rendered all the more odious by their hypocrisy; and the high dignitaries of the Church were invited by the king's court to throw the mantle of their respectability over Versailles. The high dignitaries were not to blame for the invitation, for they simply declined it and resented it; but the tyranny of this old régime had no more repulsive characteristic than this seeking to veil vices by religion.

That the old régime was as criminally tyrannical as the new régime is wildly licentious no student of French history can gravely doubt. It is probable that modern socialism, in its anti-Christian sense, as well as in its anti-aristocratic sense, was begotten primarily of the stings of a perfectly natural resentment against aristocratic exclusiveness and complacency. Political socialism was probably born of wounded vanity—we might almost say of wounded self-respect—and religious socialism

was twin offspring of the same spirit; while revolutionary democracy means no more than indignation at the presumption, the absolutism, of grandees. All this is rather a sentiment than a principle; but it has its apology in *facts*. Aristocratic pride was a fact. Hypocrisy in high places was a fact. Fearful crushing of the poor was a fact. Vile robbery of the poor was a fact. Horrid worldliness, cold selfishness, brutal egotism, were facts that met the eye at every turn. And all such facts are associated in the socialistic French mind with the using of religion as a class-weapon. It is true that, in France, political socialism is almost dead, because there is no longer class oppression; but religious socialism has survived its twin brother, because the tradition of the old hypocrisy still lives. Frenchmen know that their bitterest tyrants *were* Catholics, and so they cannot forgive their religion. The misconception, as we have said, is sheer fatuity. It is an illusion of the feeling, not of the brain. But French society was the parent of the illusion, and religion has been made to suffer through society.

The same kind of accusation, though in lesser degree, might be brought against Italian society. Lord Lytton, in his romances about Italian class struggles, has not overpainted historic facts. The feudalism has died out, but the old spirit remains, tempered by the discretion of self-interest. Between the higher classes and the commonalty in Italy there is about as much sympathy, as much clanship or unity, as between the planets and a row of street lamps. What is called etiquette is pushed to a point which paralyzes the pulses of human nature. Separateness, exclusiveness, are social dogmas. They are the "de fide" obligations of "good" society. This is shown in a hundred little ways. Let us take one little way as an example. The Roman magnates have private chapels in their big houses—not chapels, but small sitting-rooms set apart—for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries at their convenience. Though scores of churches were hard by, within three minutes' walk, the grandees must have mass said in their own houses. This is carrying class privilege a long way. A man might as well have an aristocratic dispensation from every obligation of holy penance as have mass said in one of his own private apartments because he is too exclusive to "go to church." A venerable Roman dowager, eighty-four years of age, said ten years ago, in Rome, to the present writer: "There is a chapel in our palace; but I would rather not hear mass at all than set an example of lazy piety and class privilege." But so it is grandly ruled that a wretched room is set apart for the perfectly easy (and aristocratic) hearing of mass, and that for about twenty-three hours out of every day in the year the domestic sanctuary is left alone, unvisited.

This is one of the foibles of "good society." Religious privi-

lege—that most odious of class vanities—is supposed to increase their excellencies' dignity, and the chaplain is a sort of butler *in spiritualibus*, who is, of course, nobody, because not a grandee. All this does outside harm to religion. Saint-Simon, the first typical French socialist who thought to utilize religion as his ally, was at least wiser than those who throw up religious class privilege as a barrier between themselves and their countrymen. And here let a point be noted, which is kindred in its injuriousness with the magnificent isolation of domestic chapels. It is a prevailing custom throughout Christendom to say to "the man with a gold ring" (as St. James with holy irony has expressed it), "sit thou here in the best place;" but to say to the man in the smock frock, "sit thou anywhere, or nowhere." This custom of giving the rich people the best places in every church because they have the money to pay for them, while leaving the poorer classes to sit anywhere because they have not sixpence or a shilling, is another of society's scandals which do harm to religion without bringing any real gain to any class. Ought not the best seats to be allotted to the poor, and the back seats to be allotted to the rich? A church is the poor man's palace. Rich people have their luxuries at home. And as all that the rich desire is exclusiveness, let the back seats be priced instead of the front ones, and the rich worshippers will be sure to prefer them. "To the rich the gospel is preached" is hardly a faithful rendering of a divine assurance. The rich come flaunting gayly to the best places, as though humility was intended solely for the lower orders. Let the rich be humbled *only* in the churches! The "needle's eye" was not pleasant to the "camel;" but as we know what has been said upon that subject, it would be well to teach the lesson in God's house.

Society, in most ages, in most towns, in most villages, has set up religious privilege as a protection against the commonalty, while affecting to prize religion for its Catholicity. This is as true of the Anglican and the various Protestant "churches" as it is true of most Catholic communities. Thus, in England, dissent was mainly begotten of the arrogance, the cold worldliness, of the patrons of the Establishment. The splendid ease of Anglican bishops and deans, the refined comforts of the beneficed or superior clergy, excited hearty disgust among the people, who saw plainly that religion was chiefly used as a profession, as the most comfortable and respectable of callings. A thousand meeting-houses sprang up in all parts of the land as a protest against the stiffness of Churchism, and as a relief from the dry bones of Erastianism. The dissenting minister was at least a man without pretension; he was not waiting for a fat living or a cathedral canonry, and he had a warmth in his ministrations which was certainly homely

if not cultured, and which had some touch of heart and of nature. Dissent came to abound, not from dislike to dogma, but from hatred of coldness and religious pride. The upper classes were Anglican. That was quite enough reason why the lower classes should wish to be something else. And so it is in London at this day; and so it is in all the large towns. The commonalty separate themselves from Anglicanism because Anglicanism has no sympathy with the commonalty. Yet it may be replied that the mere coldness of Anglican services was enough to drive the poor man from the churches, especially as the poor are shoved back from the good seats and forced to take refuge under the galleries. Cardinal Newman has said that the remembrance of Anglican services always made him "shiver and shudder;" what then must be the impression on the masses of the poor, who have to "shiver and shudder" on wooden benches? Now English "society" is to blame for this creation of dissent, through the driving of all warmth out of Anglicanism. Society in England has made religion quite as cold as are its own personal sympathies with the commonalty; and the commonalty have retorted by making a religion of their own, which they have evidently as much right to do as their superiors. Society, however, pretends to look down upon dissent as the religion of the uncultured, the low-conditioned; forgetting that its own pride, wretched formalism, shallow dogmatism, were the veritable progenitors of all dissent. Weak and compromising as was Anglicanism from the first, utterly illogical and invertebrate, the Church of England might have gathered the poor under its wing had society done its duty in Christian spirit. But cold formality in church services, *plus* demarcations in class; pewed up ease for respectable worshippers, *plus* draughty seats for the poor; and, speaking generally, isolation in the upper classes, *plus* desolation in the lower, these were the odious comparisons which filled England with dissent, and which have now left the Church of England to the comfortable. We need not look to theology—as it is understood in England—for the solution of the varieties of creed. Society has been responsible, if not for all the varieties, at least for the bitter feelings, of sectarianism.

If from Anglicanism we turn to Catholicity, we find society responsible in precisely the same way for a good half of the faults of the revolutionists. The Catholic religion cannot possibly beget dissent; its only possible alternative is infidelity; and so when the people become disgusted with society they fall back on a ferocious antagonism. Now, has society done its duty in any Catholic country in regard to the ingratiation of the commonalty? It has not. Neither naturally nor religiously has society done its best for either the wants or the aspirations of the masses. Society holds aloof.

Society, like St. Simon Stylites, sits upon the top of a pillar, but, unlike him, refuses to come down. Society either patronizes or ignores. It either helps in a way which gives offence, or else it declines to help at all. It carries its miserably narrow canons into every department of duty, into every atmosphere and groove of daily life. When in church it turns its back on the commonalty, and when out of church it does not even do that. Society is so cold in its attitude to the commonalty that it freezes up its life-blood—not by contact, for it does not touch it, but by presenting such a front of remoteness and of disesteem that the commonalty naturally "shudders and shivers."

Why is it that the Popes, in their periodical encyclicals, have to lament always such a vast social decadence? To what causes are we to attribute the spread of the social maladies known as liberalism, free thought, and modern thought? It is clear that the blame must lie somewhere. We have to account for the fact that, even in Catholic countries, Catholicity may be mocked with impunity; for the fact that in non-Catholic countries Catholicity does not make its full way; for the fact that most governments, both Catholic and non-Catholic, legislate as if there were no Holy See. Is this the fault of the Catholic religion? It would be simply idiotic to say so. Is it the fault of the Catholic hierarchies? Here again common sense cries "absurd." Is it the fault of the Catholic attitude of Catholic writers, of Catholic scientists, of the Catholic controversialists of any country? No human being could say that this is so. We have the admission of the huge majority of men of thought in all more or less Christian countries that "if there be any true Christianity it is the Catholic." Whose fault is it then that the only true religion does not conquer the hearts of all Europe? We answer the fault is society's. And here we may be accused of being ourself democratic, if we take the part of democracy against society. Be it so. Every true Catholic is a democrat. Democracy, in a wrong sense, is revolution; but democracy, in a right sense, is Catholicity. The ideal of Catholicity is the ideal of the family, in which blood-relationship unites all. That is the whole of what is implied by "Catholic democracy," whether its civil governments be absolute or republican. The form of the civil government is accidental, the principle of the Catholic family is essential. What sort of a Catholic family have we got throughout Europe in any sense in which the words can be used? Instead of society playing the part of the legitimate natural guardian of the lower or humbler orders of the people, society uses the people as it uses the soles of its boots, to keep it out of the mud of vulgar contact. Does society set an example of the virtues of modesty, of charity, of self-sacrifice, of tender sympathy? It sets an exam-

ple of vanity, of niggardliness, of self-indulgence, of the most supercilious disregard of inferiors. Does society live as carefully, yet as generously, as it can, that it may benefit a greater number of the needy? It lives, on the contrary, ostentatiously, while underpaying every hireling who works for it. Does society consider delicately how much rest, how much peace of mind, how much opportunity of improvement in leisure hours it can afford to its retainers, its dependents? Well, in England domestic servants are treated with much less natural sympathy than is shown to gentlemen's slaves in the Southern States. Does society busy itself about the hard lives of the working classes? about the millions of the unemployed or the overemployed? about the hundreds of thousands of seamstresses who are forced to work all through the night for a pittance so vile as to lead to crime? or about the hundreds of thousands of the sick and suffering who lie groaning, perhaps foodless, at its very doors? Society gives a cheque—which it knows will be misused—and, having done this, says, "What a saint am I!" Society cares only for the masses of the people just so far as the masses supply its wants, and would serenely obliterate the whole world of "nobodies," save only that if it did so where would be society?

The middle class take their cue from the highest class; and the lower middle take their cue from the upper middle; and so, half the vices, the hollowness, the fatuity, which are born of this impostor, society, descend downwards, and corrupt even the lowest class, who become, very naturally, revolutionists.

To attempt to separate religion from the natural order; to suppose that the people are to be made perfect by precept, by being preached at, talked at, written at, is about as wise as to suppose that a young gentleman will be a devoted son because his father always supplies him with a handsome Bible. Example is the only way by which the rich can teach the poor; and sympathy is the whole soul of education. But example and sympathy being just the two things that are wanting, the humbler classes are embittered and vitiated. The beautiful exceptions to the rule serve only to make the rule more easily and painfully demonstrable. A unit here and there has no more effect on the masses than one drop of rain on a parched field. We have to consider the whole world as made up mainly of the working classes, *plus* a sprinkling of the exotic called society. We have to remember that education, of all kinds, good and bad, is sown broadcast in every town, in every village. We have to estimate the forces, not only separately but sympathetically, which are at work from three distinct copious founts, known as religion, free press, free politics. These forces, always at work, have not one guiding helmsman, not one recognized authority which is obeyed, because the people are eclectic as

to their own authorities. Free thought has done away with authority, religious, political, even social. Modern thought is free thought, with a more abundant pretension of systematizing the vagaries of opinionism. Liberalism is the temper or disposition with which free thought or modern thought is cherished. Speaking naturally—that is, leaving Catholicity out of the question—there exists no adequate force of any kind in the world which can compete with these "popular" forces. One force there might be, and only one, and that would be the force called society. But society has killed itself. By its contempt for the lower orders it has made the lower orders its enemies; and by demoralizing its own self it has demoralized the lower orders, so that it can have no influence over the victims of its own example. Let us take three very obvious illustrations. Religiously society has set an example of worldliness which has converted the commonalty into scoffers. Socially society has set an example of selfishness which has converted the commonalty into haters. Intelligently society has set an example of loose reasoning which has converted the commonalty into freethinkers. The voluminous issue of works designed mainly to upset religion; the constant printing of articles aimed purposely at revelation; the complacent patronage of novelties intended to dig at the very roots of all that has been esteemed venerable by the whole world—the whole pagan world as well as the whole Christian world; these are some of the indulgences of modern society which have now ripened social revolution. Perhaps the very cruellest thing which society has done is the permitting, even the patronizing, of the onslaughts on revelation, which *was* the sole comfort of the poor. Even that comfort is now to be taken away. Society could not be content with merely neglecting the poor, it must pass on to destroy its religion. It has done so. Religious free thought is now as rampant in the cottage or in the hovel, in the workshop, in the market-place, in the tap-room, as it is in the best houses of London or Paris, or in the pages of some fashionable magazines. Society could not be quite happy till it had uprooted the sole joy of the humble classes, whom it regarded as uneducated, so it has done its very utmost to educate them in infidelity by permitting, even patronizing, infidel writings.

In this arraignment of society it is obvious that we are speaking only of what society *seems* to be to the whole world. As was said at the beginning, the imperium of social canons is so despotic over the votaries of fashion that each separate unit is engulfed in the huge ocean of vanity, selfishness, folly. A man is said to be "in society" when he associates with a type of persons who make exclusiveness—not eclecticism—their god. And this exclusiveness necessarily leads to such a worship of social gods as to remind one

of a Jossman before his idols. We have all read of the childish nonsense called court etiquette, which was the religion of Louis the Sixteenth's servile nobles. We have laughed at the account of his majesty getting out of bed, under the observation of court dignitaries of high degree; one page putting on the right slipper and another page putting on the left slipper; the royal right leg being stockinged and gartered by one gentleman and the royal left leg being stockinged and gartered by another gentleman; the day shirt, wrapped in a piece of white taffetas, being presented by a prince of the blood; and the bedstead on which his majesty had lain being bowed to or courtesied to by grandees. And all this unmanliness, this shameless puerility was the main religion of that fantastic aristocracy which carried its impertinence to its inferiors to such a point as to finally merit the guillotine. Now it is the tendency of the human mind to judge things by extremes, to conclude that what leads to the contemptible must spring from contemptible principles; hence the revolutionary party abhor every kind of rank, of social status, of liveried dignity, or plumed office, and this as much in the religious as in the civil order of life, as much in ecclesiastics as in laymen. We cannot blame them. Society has made rank to mean exclusiveness, influence to mean tyranny or impertinence, wealth to mean selfishness and ostentation, religion to mean the best seats in churches, charity to mean cheques given to a committee, sympathy to mean attending public meetings, piety to mean fondness for pretty ritual. Society is transfigured in abstractions. It is rapt in an ecstasy of the ideal. It never reaches any ideal which it proposes; but it looks upward too much to look downward. So that the commonalty, being left wholly to themselves, and seeing nothing to be admired in their superiors—except their round incomes and pleasant houses—proceed to evolve their own religion, their own literature, their own politics, their own Bradlaugh representatives in Parliament, and thus greatly shock society, which cannot conceive how it can be possible that the people can have such low tastes. Society having done its best to misuse every gift, and to adore itself for its splendid misuse, is quite angry with the common class which cannot bend the knee in homage to what it knows to be an imperium of shams.

That the commonalty have no rights save such as the laws can afford them, while society—which makes the laws—has divine rights, is one of those hideous fallacies which, though never put into writing, really govern half the conduct of society. Let us take one familiar example. There is a saying which is in the mouths of rich people continually: "The undeserving poor deserve no help; we should distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving; indiscriminate charity does harm." Now, without

stopping to question the justice of this view, but rather admitting that there is some common sense in it, let us ask, how is it that we hear so much of the "undeserving poor" but positively nothing of the "undeserving rich?" Dare any man refuse to dine with a rich man on the ground that he does not deserve his riches? Does any man ever purpose to take a fortune from a rich man on the ground that he drinks far too much champagne? Or does any one refuse to call on the Duke of Fitzbattleaxe on the ground that he is the idlest of inutilities? If, then, undeservingness is not accounted a sufficient reason for withholding fawning flunkeyism from the rich, why should undeservingness be accounted a sufficient reason for leaving a poor mechanic to starve? It will be observed that we are not pleading either for or against the claims which relatively are made by the two classes; we are merely holding up to scorn the shameless fallacy of society, which can only *punish* undeservingness in the poor. Again, if a man who is "in society" is frightfully extravagant, and keeps a hundred tradesmen waiting to their ruin, he is only said to be a little "too fast;" but the very people who eat his dinners, with the full knowledge that he is bankrupt and is bringing bitter misery on other people, would speak with horror of the poor mechanic who got tipsy on a shilling which belonged by prior right to a creditor. Again, if a man who is "in society" has the cunning to increase his wealth by speculations which are impoverishing to the humbler classes, he is esteemed to be a sharp or brilliant man; but the same sharp or brilliant man would give an employee into custody if he abstracted a single shilling from his purse. These examples will suffice to show the "moral theology" of society, which is so sublimely discriminating of the "deserving poor." As a matter of course the same looseness of "moral theology" travels downward through the middle and lower classes, so that it may be said that society is half responsible for the moral fallacies, for the personal cruelties, for the hard selfishness of the trading orders, who simply take their superiors for their patterns. And we are therefore justified in the assertion that the attitude of society is an attitude which is opposed to religion, inimical both to the doctrines and to the sentiments of the exquisite philosophy of Catholicity. If the world which is not "in society" were to frame its indictment or even its defence against society, the plea might be formulated as follows: You, society, are at the top of the tree and we are on the lower branches or on the ground. You shake off your rotten apples, so that they may fall on our heads, but you keep all your best fruits for yourselves. Your hypocrisy does not teach us to honor religion, which you use as a mantle of respectability; nor does your selfishness inspire us with an indomitable aspiration to

be wealthy in order that we may be good. Your loose moral theology has permeated all the social strata with the falsest conception of true honor, making a conventional justice to take the place of a divine charity which *should be* the fountain of every virtue. Your affectation of high manners is but heartless complacency, which enables you to snub the toiling mob; your superior education only perfects you in the science of keeping others at a convenient, remote distance. You set us the example of living gorgeously and delicately, so that we may be made to realize the shocking character of "Dives;" and, as to "Lazarus," well, perhaps you treat him as "undeserving," that he may enjoy "Abraham's bosom" all the more. You live up to your incomes to teach us economy; you dine exquisitely to teach us self-denial; you have six coronets on one carriage to demonstrate the vulgarity which is the unavoidable accident of high position; and you powder your servants' heads so as to show us that barbarism is the natural extreme of civilization. When in church you take the best seats for yourselves, so that we may see the sanctuary through the maze of your bright toilets; and on coming out of church you invite one another to luncheon, so that we may appreciate the true rendering of a counsel which we have mistaken, but which ought properly to have been translated in this way: "When thou givest a feast, ask the rich only to eat with you, but do not inquire whether the poor have sufficient dinner." You make your servants work all day and half the night that they may be perfected in the virtue of holy industry; and you lounge idly in carriages, not to save time in doing good or as being bent upon various charitable enterprises, but solely that you may teach the commonalty how much more healthy it is to walk, and how much more manly, and even womanly, it is to work. You do not care one button for any class but your own, so as to inspire us with holy horror of worldly pride; and you indulge in every midnight dissipation so as to teach us the virtue of regular hours. Meanwhile, the working world has to wait upon your pleasures, and to try to imitate the serenity of your minds. We will not add to the indictment, for were we to speak the whole truth, even *we* might possibly sin against charity.

Playful as all this is, and perhaps wildly superlative, it represents very nearly the sentiment of the revolutionists towards the class which is known as society. The mere fact that such a sentiment is highly colored—three-fourths being figure and one-fourth judgment—does not exonerate society from the charge of having begotten a contemptuous, a revolutionary repugnance. We have been considering all along—from certain tokens and certain accidents—what is the attitude of society towards religion, and we have spoken only what society *seems* to be to the world, not of the

individual merits of its members. Were it not in bad taste, it would be delightful to give the names of certain members of the English aristocracy—of certain high, Catholic members of society—whose example is as near perfection in the way of modesty and true nobility as the example of the majority is detestable. And it is true to add that where such example is manifested, the commonalty most profoundly appreciate it. There is one English nobleman whose delicacy of politeness and of modest, personal sympathy with the humblest, is a model for society to copy. But then society will not copy it. Society cannot copy it. Society is too grooved in its vulgar apprehensions to become magnanimous, modest, or real. A Redemptorist Father once observed to the present writer: "I should imagine that everybody goes through purgatory, because of the ineradicable selfishness of the human heart." And then, alluding to English magnificoes, he added, with an irony of which he was obviously himself quite unconscious: "We must not forget, when thinking of their salvation, that with God all things are possible." Yet such matters are too high for our present consideration. We are speaking only of usefulness in this world; and it must be owned that if there were no such thing as society the world would not be one whit the worse.

Oh, most shocking, plebeian view of society! Not the least in the world! It is not against the institution—society—that any sane man would raise his voice, any more than against the planetary system, because it takes precedence of tallow candles. It is against the cowardice of society, the unmanliness of society, the desperate thoughtlessness and selfishness of society, that every earnest man ought to protest. Society is unreal; because affecting to be pyramidal it is really abysmal in example. Consider the powers of wealth, the influence of rank, the force of example in the lofty! If society would spend just one-half of the time and one-half of the personal energy which it devotes to the cultus of mere fashion in evolving sober schemes for the elevation of "inferiors," and in practically putting them into execution, it is not too much to say that human miseries would be halved and social revolution would die out. The human mind is so constituted that it is convinced through its sentiment much more than it is convinced through its judgment. Now the only perfectly beautiful sentiment in the world is the sentiment of the Catholic faith. The sentiment of society is its exact opposite. If you wrote out in parallel columns the ideal of Catholic sentiment and the ideal of the sentiment of society, you would find that society is the mocking ape of every grace which, theoretically, makes Catholicity requisite. This is the *picture* of society, its *mise en scène*, before the eyes of the commonalty, the people, the vulgar. The individual mem-

bers of society are not to be confused with what is understood by "society." Society is an institution and an ideal. As an institution it must necessarily exist. As an ideal it must necessarily create itself. And its creation of its own ideal is also necessarily the creation of an infinity of good or harm in its inferiors. Here is society's responsibility. If it only injured itself, that would be its own affair; but in injuring the whole world it has a double responsibility, both as to this world and the next.

AMERICAN FREETHINKING.

Resolutions of the American Freethinkers' Convention, at Watkins Glen, N. Y., August, 1882.

IT is singular that American freethinking has made no original advance since the days of Thomas Paine. This results partly from the natural limitations of the system (if so chaotic a medley as free thought deserves the name), and partly from the unmetaphysical character of the American intellect. A practical people by eminence, we deem it loss of time and "brain-power," to speculate about questions which reason tells us must be settled, if at all, by facts and historical evidence. Revelation is simply a question of fact, to be proved, as all facts are, by competent testimony.

It is clear that to confuse the fact and record of revelation with the nature of its contents, is to be guilty of a sophism. Yet this is what Paine did, and what Ingersoll is doing. If I receive a letter from you, that fact stands by itself, and is not at all modified by the contents of the letter. The confusion which ensues from not keeping these two ideas separate, runs through all the answers and rejoinders which have wearied the readers of Ingersollian controversy. Even so acute a thinker as Judge Black allowed himself to be dragged by Ingersoll into all sorts of Biblical difficulties—the meaning of ancient Jewish sacrifices, for example. The simple question should be insisted upon: Is the Bible a divine revelation? as, to doubt whether Omniscience and Omnipotence *can* reveal himself, is irrational.

Once the decks are cleared of all geological, chronological, and philological rubbish, the action is short and decisive. The imme-

morial witness of the Jewish people for the Old Testament, is paralleled by the witness of the Christian Church for the New. It matters not what difficulties the Book may contain. The question is entirely one of historical fact, which can be established by every law of human evidence, by every canon of criticism. But when we proceed from establishing the authenticity and credibility of the Bible, to explaining its doctrinal and moral teaching, we, as individuals, follow the infidel into just the jungle he wants—for a divine revelation requires a divinely guided interpreter. Here the Catholic alone is safe, logically, for he believes in an infallible Church as the guardian and judge of the meaning of revelation.

Whilst we do not admit that the demonstration of the evidences for the divine origin of the Holy Scriptures is uncommonly difficult, or demands any extraordinary penetration, still, it undoubtedly exacts time and thought—two things of which the average American is sparing. Unquestionably, the way of authority was designed by God, as the way for the vast majority of mankind to learn his truth. The Christian evidences, however, are so intertwined with history, and, in fact, with all the elements of universal life and thought, that a plain, simple reasoner may prove for himself the unshaken historical foundation on which the religion, viewed simply as a fact, rests. But, unhappily, the non-Catholic no sooner gets beyond the historical fact, than he begins to interpret the Bible for himself. He does not see that the Church takes his reason in helpful charge, as soon as his reason arrives at a human certitude of the truth of Christianity. This is why Protestant divines who write well upon the evidences, blunder hopelessly when they construct a creed from them, as, illogically, they do. Faith begins where reason ends. The Church begins where Protestantism, which is simply an exercise of private judgment upon the evidences of Christianity, ends. Protestantism cannot be more than this human criticism of the Bible, for it is obviously impossible for a Protestant, on his own principle, to make an act of *divine* faith in the Scriptures.

Allowing that we have an immense mass of literature about the evidences of Christianity, the difficulty with many men, and particularly Americans, is a certain eagerness for immediate intellectual results, and a certain impatience under unresolved doubts and unanswered difficulties, which make them surrender their intellectual freedom to a deft and quick explainer, it matters little what his explanation is. Indeed, the real strength of modern scientism lies, not in the study of its abstract principles, nor the process of reasoning by which it seeks to show that God and the supernatural are the unknowable, but in its charm for the indolent and the bewildered. If God is wholly impenetrable to human ken, we have

no concern with Him or it. The lazy, the confused, and the vicious mind hail this theory as the fabled nepenthè.

Back of the Bible, back of all natural substance and phenomena, is the invisible God, infinite in all perfections, and so startlingly real and true, that our limited mind is overwhelmed by the very excess of the proofs of His existence. Yet, as St. Thomas says, we know Him only by effects, for the first cause cannot admit of an *a priori* demonstration. A whole world of adoring thought is opened for us by the very first thesis of Theodicy: There is a God. Yet how little do the mass of mankind seem to know about God, as he is in His own infinite being! How thoroughly anthropomorphic is the God of multitudes! See how low and inadequate, how thoroughly human, is every conception of the divinity, outside the teaching of Catholic theology! To read a Protestant book about heaven is to be shocked and disgusted at the carnal views, which only the thought of the Beatific Vision can dispel.

Our readers will understand us when we say that, whilst the Old Testament contains the truest and most soundly metaphysical name of God, as the I AM WHO AM, there are passages descriptive of the Deity which, as they stand in their bald literalness, perplex the understanding, and even impart to it unworthy views of the infinitely blessed God. It is obvious that such passages entering the head of unspiritual-minded men, will find nothing there to explain them satisfactorily. What can be reasonably expected of a man who has never reflected upon the operations of his own soul; whose whole life has been immersed in matter, and whose gross imagination is incapable of appreciating a simile in poetry? That such men are by no means rare, is provable by everyone's experience. Before opening the Scriptures, the mind should be versed in that sublime revelation of God furnished by the natural world; by the tender musing of the intellect itself upon all the glorious attributes which inhere in the idea of necessary and self-existent being; and by the study of the testimony which all nations have borne to the existence of the Creator. There are men whose souls are more profoundly moved by the lightsome demonstrations of the Angelicals *De Deo*, or the worshipful brooding of Lessius and Suarez over the depths of the divine nature, than by even the harp of David, or the clarion notes of Isaias.

The God that the infidel denies, never had an existence. The very idea of imperfection in God is destructive of Him; and yet is not this the God against whom Ingersoll raves, as "delighting in blood," etc. Reason demonstrates the existence of a Necessary Being; for there is a contradiction in saying, that, given any existence, this world, for example, or even my own thought, there should not exist a Being from all eternity, uncreated and illimitable.

Out of nothing, comes nothing. No one now holds the absurdity of an infinite series of secondary causes. There being no cause superior to this First Cause to limit his being, and no intrinsic cause to limit it, He is infinite in every perfection, for all perfection belongs to the nature of being. Whatever perfection exists in created things must be found in God, either formally, or, in its proper form; or eminently, in an infinite degree; or virtually, in power and causality. The Scriptures abound in direct averments of this infinite perfection, and consequently passages which ascribe to God, qualities or attributes inconsistent with this absolute perfection and infinitude, are explainable in a manner which conserves it; and this is all that a defender need do, to refute the objection. God being essentially incomprehensible to the human intellect even when raised to the Vision (for the finite can never comprehend the infinite), the sublimity of the descriptions of the nature and attributes of God, contained in the Scriptures, is adduced as a proof of their divine origin; whilst an equally strong proof is drawn from their marvellous adaptedness to the limitations of the human mind and language, in conceiving and expressing the ineffable ways and purposes of the divinity.

Equally true is it that the God whom the Deists, the Agnostics, and the Pantheists construct never had an existence. The Deists of the eighteenth century denied the possibility of miracles and prophecies; or, in other words, denied the almighty power and wisdom of God; that is, they denied His existence, for His being is one with His attributes. The Agnostics describe God as the unknowable, whereas all science rests upon principles which cannot be adequately explained or accounted for, without assuming God. If by the unknowable they mean the undemonstrable, reason refutes them; if they mean the incomprehensible, reason at least knows that He is incomprehensible. In either case, God is known. How do we know that He is the unknowable? The very fact of giving Him a name implies some conception, however inadequate, of His existence. The Pantheist destroys God by giving Him two contradictory attributes, thought and extension. In short, the God whom the freethinker either denies or acknowledges is a myth.

It is undeniable that Protestantism, particularly in its Calvinistic form, promoted the spread of Deism in the period anterior to the American Revolution. The colonists, moreover, were free from that traditional reverence which attached to the Established Church in England. Colonial history, particularly that of New England, abounds in records of religious controversy. When the Encyclopedist school of infidelity arose in France it attracted the attention of many leading Americans. The sympathy which this country had with France, in her aspirations for enlarged liberty,

tended to spread the writings of French publicists, who were mainly infidel. Still, the prevalent form of free thought was a mild Deism, such as that propounded by the Englishman Toland. The excesses of the French revolutionists brought disesteem upon infidelity. Besides, Voltaire and his colleagues were wretchedly shallow and "unscientific" in the treatment of the gravest questions. They thought to get rid of God by a *bon mot*. Not until so late as Emerson's day did any considerable number of Americans know of the transcendental philosophy which dominated intellectual Germany. Indeed, Sir William Hamilton wrote in the *Edinburgh Review*, that not a half dozen metaphysicians in the British Isles had then even heard of Immanuel Kant, whom his admirers hailed as the greatest philosophic intellect since Aristotle. Kant's skepticism resulted from his criticism of pure reason, which he held to be inadequate to the demonstration of the existence of God, though, what he calls the practical intellect, irresistibly demands it.

Around Kant there grouped a number of dreamy, fanciful minds, that sought for God chiefly in themselves, and actually rioted in blasphemy. Divinity was ascribed to every being and every idea except the right one. This transcendentalism was brought to America, but, going through the brain of Emerson, it was transmuted into mere Agnosticism, or, what is now called, Positivism. Emerson was not a philosopher. He was not by any means the ideal thinker and poet that people fancied. He was a hard-headed, shrewd American, who emphasizes on every page the vulgar successes of life. There is no spiritual power in his books, and he is infinitely below Spinoza or Comte in any presentation of belief or elaboration of a system. His "Eternities" and "Infinities" are suggestive of what is inelegantly, but energetically, called "gas." His coterie pretended to absorb all the culture and intellect of New England, but they attempted nothing, from Brook Farm to a Liberal magazine, which did not fail.

The fact is that such are the conditions of American life, such the nature of the American mind and habits of thought, that its freethinking inevitably takes the form of ribald blasphemy, narrow intolerance, and the delusion that God and Christianity perish with the detection of an incongruity in the Bible. The resolutions passed at the Watkins Glen Convention assail the Church with a bitterness to which the claim of broad-minded liberality gives a particular sting. The Church is represented as an organization for the perpetuance of ignorance and bigotry, and the clergy as scheming scoundrels. No attempt is made to define any position. With ostentatious "liberality," dubious fraternities of Free lovers, Spiritualists, Agnostics, Deists, and a very significant "etc.," are wel-

comed to the freethinking ranks. There is the usual glorification of liberty and progress. An enthusiastic freethinker sends as an answer to a very foolish telegram from the Methodists, the advice to keep the churches in good repair, as the future temples of liberty and science.

To show how intensely persuaded these people are that all revealed religion is bound up with the Bible, a long resolution is devoted to a congratulation that the Revisers of the New Testament have corrected prevalent views regarding the inspiration and the infallibility of the Scriptures.

The Church, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, has refrained from defining the precise nature and all the minutiæ of inspiration. Protestantism has shown its folly by alternately insisting upon verbal, literal, and plenary inspiration, and by leaving it to be determined by the individual conscience and the private teaching of the Spirit. Having no guide or unerring rule of faith, a Protestant is perplexed by every discovery in science, by the divergent opinions of famous commentators, and, in the Apostle's comparison, by every wind and wave of doctrine. The new rationalistic criticism of the Scriptures has left hardly a book unquestioned.

A powerful ally of infidelity in the United States has been the system of public education. This is decidedly godless. In the Divine counsels, the general method for communicating religious truth to mankind has been external. Faith, says St. Paul, comes by hearing. All knowledge of the Creator, even that derivable from the contemplation of the creation, is sedulously avoided. Science is taught without any reference to the Maker of heaven and earth. History, instead of being treated as a revelation of Divine Providence, is made a mere recital of events, which are presented as though they were simply fortuitous. Stress is chiefly laid upon the importance of getting along in the world, and all education has this merely mediate end for its universal scope.

The indifference of American fathers to the religious training of their children is the frequent theme of the Protestant pulpit. The deeper religious sentiment of the mother cannot countervail the indifference of the father, whom the boys follow. They see him wholly occupied in business, careless about church, and critical of the minister and the congregation, with that unreserve before children which is not the least of the American's faults. The only aim held up to his youthful ambition is to make money, which is regarded as the root of all good.

The irreligious training begun in the public school is completed in the public newspaper, which is, perforce, "the essence of religious toleration;" that is, the absence of all positive ethical teaching. From the newspaper he learns of the doings of political

officials, who are either jocosely complimented on their shrewdness in peculating, or defended for their crimes by an appeal to the greater criminality of their opponents.

There may be such a power as a public conscience or a public sense of right, even when large numbers of the individual members of the state are corrupt. Such a public opinion existed in the ancient democracies of Greece and Rome. In the Middle Ages it expressed itself in the civil and corrective power assigned to the Christian Church. But no such bar of public opinion exists in the United States. A handful of unscrupulous politicians may hold power for years. The Presidency and its patronage are boldly claimed to be the personal perquisites of the party in office. No attempt is made to conceal taxation and extortion for political purposes. We have not even those occasional "fits of virtue" in which England dismisses a ministry, removes a grievance, and hangs a few dozen criminals.

With an education entirely severed from religious life and a public that are never directly interested in church affairs,—as they are in countries like England or France, where the Church comes directly before the people, either for defence or attack,—the American is startled by objections, on which rests the mould of centuries. Not only does the American freethinker present nothing new, but he is ignorant of the strongest objections that can be put to Revelation. The hardest objections are found in textbooks of Catholic theology. The whole ground of objections has been carefully traced and every point weighed, and it frequently happens, in the hall of disputation of a Catholic seminary, that infidel objections are pressed with a vigor and a logic to which the professed infidel is a stranger.

After reading the clear-cut objection, divested of all rant and fustian, one turns in disgust from the incoherence of Ingersoll's lectures or the calculations overthrowing the Mosaic cosmology. But it is easier to draw a harrowing picture of hell than to lead the good life which makes hell for us an impossibility. It is easier to compare man with the brutes than to analyze the operations of the intellect. In the "Comedy of Convocation," Mr. Lavender Kidds vehemently appeals to the assembled dignitaries to lay aside so fruitless a discussion as that on the existence of God and attack the growing evil of Popery. So the freethinker pleads for materialism when his very book, his very process of reasoning, establishes the spirituality of his soul; and he scoffs at the idea of fire and brimstone when his own reason irresistibly recognizes the infinite distance between right and wrong and affirms the eternal principles of justice.

The influences which place freethinking in England under a

social ban do not exist here. Bradlaugh here would be a hero. Not that Americans have any particular love of blasphemy, but because daring negation is a form in which individual liberty is apt to affirm its rights. The country seemed surprised at the product of such a creature as Guiteau; but while everybody called him a moral monster, nobody reflected upon the extent and the power of the influences which made him a monster. Such influences, differing in intensity but not in kind, exist in every American village where there are a public school, a newspaper, and, as a matter of course, a half dozen sects.

So far as infidelity in the United States has any plan, it seeks, first of all, to destroy faith in the Bible. It knows that whatever religious life there is in non-Catholic America is derived from Scriptural teaching; but it feels instinctively that the Catholic Church is stronger than the Bible. It has no fear of Protestantism, which lacks coherence, and contains in itself the principle of its own dissolution.

The Catholic Church, thoroughly organized and possessed of an invincible life, is peculiarly odious for its calm definition of the limits of the human intellect, its indifference to mere material progress, and its championship of the rights and powers of an invisible world. Indeed, its proof of Christianity as a living power in the world, is irresistible.

How may it be destroyed? or, since this is impossible, how may its influence in the United States be limited?

The resolutions point out the line of attack:

By representing the Church as hostile to our political institutions.

By organization, the formation of freethinkers' clubs, and the establishment and diffusion of "liberal" newspapers, tracts, and books.

By controlling education.

By espousing the cause and fighting the battle of labor.

We have only a word to say to Catholics in conclusion:

1. The Church which the freethinker fears and hates is the one true Church of Christ. Protestantism is either his ally or an opponent to be despised.

2. Fight the enemy with his own weapons.

SUPERIOR INSTRUCTION IN OUR COLLEGES.

Lectures and Discourses. By the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria.

What is the Outlook for our Colleges? American Catholic Quarterly Review, July, 1882.

WE have lately heard two remarkable utterances on education which must have attracted the attention of Catholics in this country. The first came from the Right Reverend Bishop of Peoria in his *Lectures and Discourses;* in the discourse, namely, on "*the Catholic Priesthood.*" Many powerful reasons were eloquently brought forward to prove the importance or rather the necessity of not confining the teaching of philosophy and theology among us to the simple elements of those sciences, as has been done so far. The eminent writer openly advocated the founding of a large institution—not a university—for the whole country, in which the most promising young men in the various dioceses should, at the end of the usual curriculum of theology, follow a more advanced course of instruction lasting from two to six years. But this project was necessarily confined to the candidates for the ministry; and the graduates of our colleges in general would not find such an institution as this adapted to their wants.

Soon after an article, written by an unknown author, appeared in the July number of this REVIEW, on the "Outlook for our Colleges," which must also have been extensively noticed. Many judicious remarks were contained in this elaborate production, whose moderate tone, clear and forcible style, precise and well-defined statements necessarily predisposed the reader in favor of the writer's opinions. He took a hopeful—perhaps too hopeful—view of our colleges, and if he found room for criticism, no one could pretend that this was done in a captious spirit. It was not fault-finding, but an open indication of real deficiencies, and Catholic educators all over the country must feel indebted to him for the wholesome advice he gave them.

As he spoke only of Catholic colleges, not of ecclesiastical seminaries, his remarks fall, much more than those of Bishop Spalding, within the scope I have in view in writing this paper, and, consequently, I must take more notice of his reflections and suggestions.

The tendency of his remarks went clearly to advocate a higher development of instruction in our colleges. This was particularly noticeable towards the end, when he spoke of the necessity of preparing educated young men among us for the battle of life, chiefly

with regard to their religion. But it was rather a hint than a systematic view toward progress. He even supposed that in our establishments "the superior course *is* placed on a philosophical basis," which, I think, is not sufficiently true. In fact the chief—almost the only—drawback he perceived was that "there is with us a painful lack of proper textbooks." Would to God that this was the worse feature of the case! Consequently he did not propose any addition to our usual curriculum.

Had he entered into more details on this subject, the good sense of which he gives many proofs would have suggested to him reflections of importance on the causes of our inefficiency in many respects; and we would, probably, have obtained from him valuable indications as to the proper remedy. But he, evidently, could not touch in a single article on every point which his vast theme naturally included, and we all must be thankful at least for what he has thought proper to utter.

This, therefore, must be supplemented, chiefly because the subject of education and instruction is justly considered of extreme importance in our age, and it must be discussed in all its bearings. The question is simply to prove the absolute necessity incumbent on us at this moment of raising the standard of studies in our colleges, and to discuss, as far as it is prudent to do so, the best means of affording to our young men a sufficient course of superior instruction, over and above what we already possess.

I.

The incompleteness of a proper curriculum is not peculiar to the Catholic institutions of learning; but all educational establishments in this country suffer more or less from it; and it is important to point out this general feature in our intellectual world, because public opinion is greatly mistaken in this regard. Many people imagine that the system of studies pursued among us, at least in our best universities, as they are called, can scarcely be improved, or at any rate amply suffices for the nation. We are supposed to have reached the highest point of culture, and we openly boast of our civilization. There are admirable points in it, no doubt; but we must first examine here if it is perfect, nay, if there is nothing superior to it in other countries.

A preliminary remark may somewhat raise apprehensions on this point. It must be universally acknowledged that in the ardent pursuit for money, so remarkable on this continent of North America, in the midst of an incessant and irresistible activity for procuring material comforts—which has perhaps never been equalled in the world before—the development of the mind in its highest aspirations may be forgotten or greatly neglected, as of little ac-

count in the battle of life. Abstruse studies are regarded as rather hindering the march of culture, of refinement, of good breeding and *high living*, which pass henceforth as the only objects worth fighting for. This, unfortunately, is too true to be in the least controverted.

Still the best part of man is his mind. Too great an attention can never be paid to it, because by it alone *he rules the world*. And unless all nations fall at once to the same level of materialism and sensualism, there is no doubt that simple sensual culture in one particular country would be fatal to its devotees, who must infallibly occupy the background, and remain behind in the race for superiority. There is no need of examining what would be the consequence for the world at large if the insane craving for what is only pleasurable equally prevailed everywhere.

The tendency of education is necessarily ruled by the preponderating estimate of the *supremum bonum* in this life. If any people wishes only for comforts its educators must bring it up as *epicuri de grege porcum*. On this account I consider a system of education and instruction limited to these base ends as a national calamity. I do not pretend, thank God, that this is altogether the case for us; but I say that there evidently is among us a tendency to it; and we have already progressed so far on the road that many of our most intelligent men imagine that the best national interests are subserved when the most ordinary level of instruction can be reached by all. The surest reliance for our future greatness as a nation is placed by them on the success of our common, that is, primary schools. Still the experience of all ages proves that no people can predominate over others, unless a class of men is found in it soaring in the upper regions of intellect, and leading after them a choice following able at least to cope with the master minds of other nations. Our first reflections must be devoted to the demonstration of this very simple truth.

A mere glance at the history of our race in ancient as well as in modern times might be a sufficient proof of it, but as it is impossible to give here any details I call it only a strong conjecture of its truth. It is an undeniable fact that in all civilized states which have become powerful in the world, high studies were pursued by the ruling classes, and the citizens on whom Providence had bestowed the greatest intellectual gifts—for all men are not born equal in mind—found in their youth adequate means for fulfilling their high vocation.

In the most remote antiquity this appears in semi-fabulous narratives, which, however, must have been based on facts, in Egypt, India, and Persia. For Egypt this is positively ascertained by the statements of celebrated Greek philosophers, many of whom de-

rived from the lessons they received from Egyptian hierophants, the noble traditions which afterwards they taught in their books. Plato particularly has spoken of it. If the Aryan races prevailed chiefly in Persia and India it was mainly due, first in Hindostan to the long study of the Vedic lore which gave forever to the Hindoo race the predominance over the aboriginal tribes—a predominance which continues to this day. For, if the pure Indians of Hindostan have never been famous in war, and have always been conquered by the invaders of the peninsula, they have maintained their village organization, their system of castes, their habits and customs, in all things essential their life as a nation, under all conquerors whatever, not excepting the English of this day. This they owed entirely to the steadfastness of their mind, developed by the study of the Vedas and the original philosophy based on them. And this study was *confined to the Brahmins*, who even at this time, in spite of the fatal decline due to the more modern idolatry, stand their ground against all possible British teaching. A class of learned men has always been their mainstay.

In Persia the sublime doctrine of the Zend-Avesta, taught first by Zoroaster, came into the possession of the old Magi of Cyrus's time, and secured for many centuries the ascendency of Irân over the degraded Turanian tribes. To the class of the Magi *alone* was confided the teaching and the spread of the doctrine; and this lasted in its purity during the greatest part of the Achæmenidæ dynasty.

The vouchers for the truth of what has just been asserted for Egypt, Persia, and India, are abundant at this day, owing chiefly to the translation of the "Sacred Books of the East," now in course of publication in England.

In Greece and Rome myths and fables, with regard to the intellectual acquirements of those nations, disappeared sooner than in the Far East; and the solemn truth has been known now for a long time that a few men of the aristocracy, in both countries, devoted all their youth to studies adequate to the great object they had in view during the remainder of their lives, namely, to lead their nation on the road to power and greatness. The Greeks could withstand the invasion of Iranians under Xerxes, more by the development of their culture, and the traditional doctrine they had received from their Pelasgic ancestors, than by the strength of their armies, and the greatness of their exploits. The narrative of Herodotus in his last book is a splendid contrast of a handful of men standing their ground against innumerable troops, led by highly civilized generals and princes, and repelling them at last more by the superiority of their intellect than by their bodily strength and endurance.

Rome subsequently stole from the Greeks the secret of their former power, and the result was the culture of the Augustan age, and the ever-spreading dominion of a race born to rule the world. Cicero, in particular, has told us how this was done. Among the patricians, and a few of the lately ennobled plebeians, men were found who felt the necessity of arduous studies for becoming effective as the leaders of their race. All the great men, in fact, who have become conspicuous in the annals of Greece and Rome were fully persuaded that mind rules the world, and that its greatest development in a nation can alone give it a lasting superiority over other peoples. This cannot be done but by a few, and to a few only this great office was intrusted.

To come to modern times, after this meagre sketch, it is known that Christianity appeared at the moment of the highest intellectual development, not only in the Roman Empire, but beyond it among all the civilized countries of the East. It took immediately a prominent position by the preaching of its Apostles, and by the sublime doctrines evolved by the Fathers, the natural leaders, from the Old and New Testaments, which from the second century of our era became the literary property of the whole world. From the third century downwards this new patristic literature superseded the old pagan one, chiefly through the labors of the great Alexandrian school in the Greek portion of the empire, and through the writings of the Latin fathers in the West. Always a few men leading, the others following. In this noble achievement it was the mind which conquered; and it is useless to insist on the universal feature of it, namely, the deep studies which the whole process supposed. What would have become of the new religion and its proselytes in case the Christian genius had never risen above the utterances of the good Pastor Hermas and his contemporaries? In case the schools of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome had never existed?

Since that early epoch the Church has always been at the head of the intellectual movement. She has literally educated all the European nations, and given them the hegemony of the whole world, which is still in their possession. How powerless the greatest pagan or Mahometan empires of our day appear when confronted by any European fleet or by a small number of well-drilled European troops! The contrast is still greater when there is question of commerce, of enterprise, of the subjugation of nature's forces, and the embellishment of the wildest regions. In spite of the internal broils which now often convulse the European states, in spite of the growing feeling of distrust among them toward the Church, they are still most powerful owing to what remains of their Christian civilization. Their evident superiority over foreign races

they owe less to their Aryan blood than to the solid education they have received during so many ages, particularly during the mediæval period. It is this which has secured their final victory over the Moslems, who during so many centuries encroached upon them and appeared ready to reduce them to slavery. That dreaded Mussulman power is now cowering before Europe, because the mind of Europe is far above that of the Arabs and the Turks; and they owe it to the arduous course of study which has prevailed among us from the Middle Ages down to the present day.

The scholastic studies have been derided by the humanists of the fifteenth century and by the Protestants of the sixteenth. Still the Protestants did not discard, for a long time, in the universities which they had received from the Catholic Church, the scholastic method in use since the epoch of St. Anselm. And they owed to it that remarkable gift of argumentation which many of their divines formerly possessed. Had they directly abandoned this searching method they would not have felt so keenly as they did the blow inflicted on them by the *Controversies* of Bellarmine. The positivists of our day make light of that great work, and despise it too much to answer it, because they have entirely lost the use of a strict and logical argumentation. Not so the professors of divinity in the Protestant universities, immediately after Luther and Calvin.

The English universities of Cambridge and Oxford particularly stood more firm than any other heterodox seats of learning, in keeping the old traditions of education and instruction. On this account, no doubt, there were always among their professors men of a high standing whose solidity of erudition and acuteness of reasoning attracted universal attention in the world of letters; and there was also more hope, for a long time, that many of them would return to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The profound impression made on many of them by Edmund Campian, after his conversion, when he gave to his old friends of Oxford an account of his motives, and stated the grounds of his new faith, is a proof of a similarity of theological method between both. Had they differed as to dialectics, like the agnostics of this day, who stand aloof a great deal from us in their way of arguing, the Protestant Oxfordians would have smiled at Campian's arguments, and his syllogisms would have fallen dead upon them.

To this peculiar feature of English thought, which has been for the English universities a source of solid learning, we owe the brilliant origin of *superior instruction* in this country, which dates from the very beginning of colonial times, and came from England. For it is now well known to all intelligent Americans that a few years only after the landing of the Puritans on the shores of Massachusetts, when all the efforts of the colonists seemed to be abso-

lutely needed in order to overcome the material difficulties of the enterprise, they attached more importance still to the needs of their minds, and began the foundation of Cambridge University near Boston. "On the 28th of October, 1636, the Court agreed to grant £400 towards a school or college, whereof £200 to bee paid the next yeare, and £200 when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint wheare and what building." (*Appleton's Cyclop.*)

The name of Cambridge was given to the new institution, in honor of the famous English university, of which some of these early settlers were graduates; and no one can pretend that at that epoch Cambridge, any more than Oxford, had already attempted to change the former course of studies. It is of public notoriety that this noble undertaking near Boston was secured afterwards by innumerable gifts and bequests from rich citizens. If the State gave it its aid also, this was so inconsiderable compared to individual grants that no claim could be put forward on the part of the colony's government to interfere in the college's management or course of studies—an inappreciable blessing, which continues to this day.

The case of Yale College in New Haven is also well known. But because it was founded nearly a century later, it does not afford so complete a demonstration of the importance early attached to high studies as the previous case of the rude colonists brought thither in the Mayflower. When the arduous struggle against nature in its wildness, and the constant dread of the numerous Indians swarming around, are in the least considered, the mind is struck with wonder at the thought that so soon as their first arrival they were not satisfied for the education of their children with the primary schools of the village or of the cross-roads. They were bent on imparting at once to the new generation the highest benefits of not only a superior, but of a complete and universal instruction, since they wished to reproduce here in the wilderness faithful copies of the great seats of learning they had known at home. They were fully persuaded that, since they desired to found a new nation on this continent, the first object of their thoughts must be the development of the human mind in its highest conceptions. Would to God the same conviction was shared by the men of our day!

It is besides a fact, which must make an impression on all of us, that during a long time this ardor for an eminent culture was most remarkable on these shores of North America. Many sons and grandsons of the original settlers were periodically sent to Europe, to be thoroughly educated. But a far larger number found in the establishments of this country the means of a culture of the highest order. Nobody, I hope, can deny that at the time of the Revolu-

tion, most of the leaders of this movement in the thirteen colonies were remarkable, not only for their gentlemanly bearing, but likewise for their scientific and literary attainments. It is more than doubtful if they would have succeeded in breaking off the yoke of England, had not this been the case. Their superior education was, therefore, of great usefulness at that time. When the French came to their help, the leading Americans found themselves on a par with the best officers of this highly educated nation. They could immediately take their rank with the best cultured Europeans.

Two only of the American colleges or universities have been mentioned—that of Cambridge or Harvard University, founded in 1636, and that of Yale, which dates from 1700. The names of seventeen others, which were opened during the eighteenth century, can be found in Appleton's *Cyclopædia* (second edition); and this is a splendid proof of the importance the founders of this nation attached to the highest learning.

Directly after and since the Revolution, the founding of colleges all over the country continued to be of frequent occurrence. Unfortunately the idea was soon predominant that the four usual collegiate classes were all that was needed for all establishments of the highest instruction. The preparatory studies were intrusted to distinct grammar schools; and after graduation the Alma Mater was supposed to have finished her work. There were no fellowships attached to these colleges as in England; and everybody knows that the highest degree of instruction was at least intended at first as the proper attribution of *fellowship*. The professional studies followed after graduation in the United States are in no way connected with the fountain head. If schools of law, of medicine, of engineering, are mentioned in the programmes of colleges, it is understood that these various courses of study are entirely independent, and cannot be considered as the development of the previous collegiate curriculum.

An English university, on the contrary, is composed of several colleges, each one founded apart, with a head, professors, a number of fellows, and a greater number of scholars. The fellows, whom alone we consider here, must be graduates of the university, assist the professors or act as tutors to the scholars, and are employed in the administration. All graduates can aspire to these functions, but their election depends on a strict competition, independent from the graduation degree. The peculiar functions allotted to them leave them sufficient time to prosecute their individual studies; and if many of them consider their position only as a step to obtaining a living in the Church of England, or some other worldly object, for those of them who feel inclined to devote their life to literary or scientific labor, no one on earth can find better oppor-

tunities of developing their mind with that view. The extensive libraries, laboratories, collections and apparatuses of all sorts, together with the public lectures of the university, and the always ready advice of the best men the country can afford in science and art, are inappreciable advantages which could scarcely be found anywhere else, even in the greatest intellectual centres of France and Germany. Can we, in this country, ever hope to have post-graduate courses equal to these? The few that we possess are but sickly and short-lived institutions, which meet everywhere with formidable difficulties, as shall soon be seen. Meanwhile something like the European system is absolutely required to form among us specialists who, by devoting their life to one single branch of study, can give to science the complete development required in our age for its proper efficiency.

It shall soon be demonstrated that the best American colleges, with their four classes carried to the highest possible degree, cannot give *superior instruction* of any kind. In the mediæval schools —let it be said incidentally—nearly all the studies pursued in *three* of those *four* of our classes, were called *Grammatica*—grammar, and were considered only as the first step in the road of learning.

In presence of this universal fact in America, it is not a matter of surprise that when the first Catholic colleges were opened—that of Georgetown in 1789, and that of Mount St. Mary's, Emmettsburg, in 1808—the founders did not think of any thing higher in point of instruction. The Catholics were just emerging from the thraldom of the penal laws, and all their aspirations looked to placing their young men on a par with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Their number besides was so small that to confine their curriculum to the four collegiate classes only would have reduced their schools to insignificance; so that the greatest number of their pupils belonged to the grammar classes, which gave to their establishments an appearance of inferiority. It shall be seen before long, however, that it was, on the contrary, an advantage; but advantage or not, it could not be avoided, and it must continue still for some time longer.

Like the students of non-Catholic establishments, as soon as the pupils of our own have received their bachelor's degree, they are left to their own guidance as to their further studies. On account of the universal activity which prevails everywhere for rushing headlong into lucrative careers, none of them can think of placing themselves under private tutors in the total absence of public courses of a higher order. The chief means, therefore, which England possesses for imparting to her sons a really superior instruction—namely, the system of fellowships and private tuition—are absolutely unknown in the United States, to the great detri-

ment of the whole nation. The consequence must have been, since the beginning of this century, a universal decline in the intellectual scale, such as it had been first established at Harvard and Yale, on the plan of Cambridge and Oxford. All the United States schools now occupy the same *elementary* ground, and seem incapable of rising higher, because the time devoted to study in youth in this country is evidently too short, and the programme, followed alike in all educational establishments, is only a dry and cut prospectus, incapable of an ulterior development.

II.

The causes of this inability to rise, and be further developed, must be considered for a few moments. In the first place no comprehensive plan of superior instruction can be carried out without ample means. All colleges, in order to be permanently secured, must be founded; and, particularly the system of fellowships in England, has always been based on *foundations*. Had it not been the rule from the beginning, the colleges which go to compose the English universities would have dwindled down to simple elementary schools, as in this country. Formerly in Europe the Church was the great nursing mother of the nations' intellect, and a considerable part of her wealth was lavishly bestowed for the founding of universities and high schools of all degree. With her, and after her, kings and princes vied with each other in the pursuit of the same object, and in modern times even rich individuals have shown their conviction of the national importance of such foundations as these by their liberality and munificence. In the United States there have been some instances of this generous spirit, but they have seldom been adequate to the most urgent needs, and many literary institutions have been altogether deprived of it. The Catholics—it must be incidentally mentioned—who in general have been so lavish of their means for the building of churches and the support of charitable institutions, have not yet appeared to feel that superior instruction is at least of equal importance.

As to State aid, both from the Federal government and individual States, it is sufficiently well known that it cannot now be hoped, owing mainly to the laws lately enacted by nearly all legislatures, against appropriations being granted to *sectarian* institutions; and nearly all American colleges are more or less denominational. It is perhaps better it should be so. In an age remarkable for the universal fact in Europe, that governments consent to subsidize educational establishments only in order to obtain the complete control of them—as is already done in this country for the common schools—and to organize an odious monopoly of

teaching, often fatal to the most precious human freedom, namely, that of conscience and religion, it is important that the civil governments should have no claim to impose conditions of any kind on the noble function of teaching, as results from their subsidy. An attempt indeed has been lately made both in Washington and Albany to imitate Europe in this regard, though on a very humble, and so far inoffensive scale. It can scarcely succeed, however, because *liberal* grants of money would alone establish a claim on the part of the civil authorities, and money does not seem to be forthcoming. For this reason—the want of proper means—there is a great difficulty to give a further expansion to the course of superior instruction in American colleges. A superior course added to the usual curriculum would entail heavy additional expenses.

In a second place the efforts which have been made in this century to effect the desired rise in instruction, have been so far futile, and instead of favoring it they have rather retarded it by an obvious want of success. This deserves a serious attention.

On looking at the various prospectuses and programmes of colleges in this country, the thought is, indeed, immediately suggested that nothing higher exists in European establishments. The courses of study have been gradually enlarged in this century, and they at last look formidable in their almost encyclopædical character. In pure and applied mathematics, in philosophical discussions, in all branches of natural science, in the whole circle of human history, ancient and modern, in comparative languages, but particularly in the classics of Greece and Rome, etc., not only the elements but the highest conceptions of the human mind seem to be familiar to the students as well as to the professors. But it is only an appearance, and there is, in fact, no superior instruction afforded.

My intention is not to accuse the faculties of those establishments of intending to deceive the public, and to impose on the credulity of their pupils' parents. It would be most unjust to do so. It is known and admitted that they all are honorable men, and would shrink from anything savoring of deceit. They are fully persuaded that they are earnestly working in the great cause of education and instruction. They think that in putting on paper those enticing schemes of the highest culture, constantly enlarging and rendered more perfect, they give them at the same time as complete a realization as is possible under the circumstances. The young men under their charge begin at least to understand the meaning of literary and scientific study, and they can afterwards prosecute by themselves their investigations in case they find it profitable to do so. It is admitted that the college is not a place where complete knowledge is acquired; a young man learns there

how to study, so as to be able afterwards to complete by himself, what has been begun by his instructors.

This exonerates from blame the directors of American establishments; and to be just towards them it must be conceded that the defects of the system cannot in the least be attributed to the directors. These defects have accumulated from the very means of improvement that were attempted. The mind of the young men could not digest in so short a time the heavy food which was offered them, and the only resource left was to cram their memory. There was, in fact, no satisfactory development of their intellectual faculties, which is the great object of a college education; but unfortunately a superficial varnish was truly obtained which was thought sufficient for young gentlemen, and the whole process was sanctioned by public opinion.

The system, however, is altogether faulty, and must be changed if there is any hope of a rise in the intellectual scale. The change must begin from the very studies which are preparatory to college; and to appreciate the needs of our own schools, a word must be added to what has already been said of non-Catholic establishments. In general, the previous grammar classes have no connection whatever with the college proper. The pupils are not known when they present themselves for the Freshmen's class. An examination is thought to be sufficient to ascertain their fitness. But every college having an interest in enlarging its list of undergraduates, the examiners feel naturally inclined not to be too hard on the candidate. If he is weak on some, perhaps many, points, he is bright and intelligent, as most American youths are; he will make an effort to repair his inefficiency, and may succeed better than could be anticipated from his examination. These are plausible excuses.

Meanwhile the college professor, at the beginning of his course, naturally supposes that the students assigned for his class know their elements. If he speaks of them it is only incidentally, and he would think it derogatory to himself to make them a subject of his lectures. Thus the want of progress in the new student cannot be attributed to the professor, but to the system which leaves the preliminary studies disconnected from the regular course.

When to this want of adaptation at the first step of a student entering college, is added the crowding of very important studies in a four years' course, it becomes evident that superior instruction is but a name, and that all the means taken to afford it cannot but create a greater confusion, and hinder rather than favor a rise.

But this was intended to render more easy of comprehension, the difficulties which beset our own establishments, and have opposed so far any satisfactory addition to the usual programme.

The case is somewhat different with us, at least with respect to the first class of deficiencies. As stated above, there are always grammar schools connected with our colleges, so that the degree of knowledge the student has acquired in the elements is always well known to the official we call the prefect of studies. In case his deficiency is too great, he is not allowed to proceed, but he must repeat his former class or leave the establishment. There are cases, however, when he is put in a special class until he is able to follow the usual course. The presumption is, therefore, that all are well grounded in the elements when they enter the college proper. They are better able to understand the matters pertaining to literature, taste, and style. Memory with them is only a help to judgment, and they sooner become accustomed to develop their intellectual faculties. Hence, what is merely technical in philology and literature is, without danger, left in the background. The reading of a good author on those subjects will afterwards suffice for them. Their mind is better formed; and it is for them an immense advantage.

The necessity, however, of embracing too many subjects in their four years' course is the same for them as for the students of non-Catholic colleges. This is particularly the case with the last year of the course, which is called with us, the class of philosophy. The branches of those most important studies, which have been enumerated in a previous paragraph, cannot evidently be profitably gone through during two terms of five months each. If there is no post-graduate course of a substantial nature, it becomes painfully evident that superior instruction is altogether missed, and only the elements of real knowledge are acquired.

A single additional remark will strike any one who reflects on the case as it is. The most momentous questions are debated in our age, not only in ponderous books, but in simple essays, and worse still, in newspaper articles. The future of the human race depends on their solution. Most plausible thinkers, who often are at the same time the best masters of language, openly attack the beliefs and convictions which, till our day, were considered the bulwarks of human society. If their theories are accepted, or even regarded as probable, the Christian revelation is probably also a tissue of fables imposed on the credulity of mankind. Natural religion itself is a mere fancy. There are no eternal and reliable principles of morality. The sense of duty is at best a superstition; and what has been considered so far as truth with regard to the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, is relegated among the unknowable subjects of thought.

Can these questions, with the enormous details their discussion naturally brings forward, be successfully debated during a single

year of study—the last of the course—by young men who are at that moment preoccupied only by the thought of succeeding in their examination, which includes many other subjects, and on the eve of making their first appearance in the world? There is evidently no hope of a rise in sound instruction as long as this programme of studies is persevered in. More shall be said shortly on the same subject.

In a third place—and this will detain us but a few moments—there is not even a possibility of forming the taste of our young men in criticism and style; and not only there can be no rise in those respects, but the present visible decline of our literature cannot but be painfully accelerated.

One of the first objects of a liberal education is to develop the æsthetic feeling in the student, and enable him to judge of the beautiful in the art of writing, as well as of the good and true in point of judgment. It has been acknowledged by the common consent of educated men in modern times that there is no surer way of obtaining this result for the young generation, than the deep study and frequent reading of the best Greek and Latin authors. They have been the true models of all the literatures of Europe. In Spain, Italy, France, even England, the great writers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries have endeavored to copy the literary productions of Greece and Rome. Germany alone has developed her classical taste in her vernacular language only during this century. But at last to-day the pure taste of antiquity is imbibed in Germany by those who wish to make their mark among the celebrated authors of their nation.

Meanwhile it has been found by experience that it is not only by a few passages of a few ancient authors that true æstheticism can be developed in a young man. A deep study of *each* author is required; and at the same time a sufficient acquaintance with a great number of them can alone subserve the intended purpose. Is it possible to obtain this result by the modern course of studies prescribed in our colleges? Does not the crowding of so many heterogeneous subjects hinder the student from reaching the object in view? And worse still, as after this unsatisfactory curriculum, the newspaper, or the light periodical, becomes the daily mental food of the best educated people in this country, is it not to be feared that the taste and style of our best writers will soon be more or less influenced by those of the common journalist or of the superficial essayist, who delight in witty puns, and think they can solve all questions by a few words of banter?

Nothing can be more fatal to superior instruction than a prevailing taste of this kind. Superficiality becomes the order of the day; the vernacular tongue itself is not sufficiently studied; and

it becomes impossible to prepare a rise in the true value of authorship. That there is no exaggeration in these complaints, the ardor with which the light books or simple and short sketches published by writers of this stamp are read by all classes alike (even by those who boast of a superior education) is the best proof of it. If Mark Twain and Josh Billings intended only to amuse us for a few idle moments, their really petty jests and delightful jokes could be welcome to our firesides; but, unfortunately, there is a visible tendency in them to be almost considered the educators of the nation, the leaders of the human intellect, and the only appreciators of the true and beautiful. Old Artemus Ward was not so pretentious. He only intended to raise an honest laugh without offending anybody, and there was no harm coming from his comical lectures. But we have progressed a great deal since he has departed from us, and I must say that he has not yet been replaced by his equal.

III.

The difficulties which have just been examined with straightforwardness and simplicity exist for our schools as well as for the other colleges of this country. Though our classes receive different names, they are absolutely the same. Our establishments are not founded, but their first institution has required large sums of money for procuring competent professors, erecting edifices adapted to their purpose, purchasing books, instruments, and collections necessary in our age for instructing young men in all the branches of a liberal education. Since, as was seen, they cannot, nevertheless, furnish us with the superior instruction we require, other heavy expenses must be incurred for the new courses of studies which must be added to their programme. This is the first obstacle to success to be got over.

But it is particularly with regard to the two other classes of shortcomings that the Gordian knot seems inextricable. From the simple statement of the case it amounts to an impossibility. It has been demonstrated, though many points of the difficulty have been necessarily passed over, that the usual four years of college do not suffice for the vastness of the programme; and the studies pursued during so short a time must remain elementary, and cannot impart a thorough knowledge of those great questions, which must, consequently, be reviewed afterwards in a much more complete manner. To be still better convinced of it, it is proper to hear the unknown writer of the article on "The Outlook of Our Colleges" in the last July number of this Review. He believes that our collegiate course, such as it is, is sufficient for all purposes, and that it depends on the professors, provided they have better textbooks, to

meet with all the requirements of the case. The simple statement of it must convince the reader that it cannot be. Still, the only part of the difficulty which he examines has reference to the objections of positivists and agnostics, against which educated Catholics must be sufficiently provided with proper answers. Nothing is said by him of many other branches of study with which those questions cannot be connected, and which singularly complicate the problem of superior instruction. He says, at page 404:

"We have the truth with us, and the truth shall prevail. But in order to prevail it must be properly presented, and if our colleges cannot present it properly, then, indeed, are they sad failures. . . . .

"There is a painful lack of proper textbooks bearing on these burning issues of the day. On the one hand, there is badly needed a life of our Lord, written with a view of refuting the dangerous works of Renan and Strauss. Such a life should be written with the loving unction of a Bonaventura, by one more deeply versed in Oriental lore than Renan himself, and capable of coping with the rationalizing Biblical criticism of Strauss. It should be written in such a spirit as to show the Godhead shining forth in the manhood of our Lord and encircling His every act with the halo of His divinity. Again, we need a work that will take up all the stray beams of truth coursing through the various philosophical and social theories and systems of the day, and converge them all into a single focus. Such work requires the mental grasp of an Aquinas. It would gather up and harmonize all the conclusions and facts of the various sciences in the light of clearly defined and universally admitted principles, and with a method the rigidity of which no scientist could object to; it would, in the light of those principles, show wherein lies the fallacy of this author or that opposed to revelation; it would reconstruct his theory and place it in harmony with the truths of faith. We have a few attempts of this kind, especially on the continent of Europe, but the weak point with the majority of them is that instead of going down into the arena of science and fighting scientists with their own weapons, they plant themselves on the serene heights of religion and read their opponents lectures on their stupidity, ignorance, or malice. Surely, no man is likely to be convinced of the erroneousness of his opinions by being told that he is a blockhead. No good can come of this mode of dealing with the issues of the day. All along the line experiment must be met by experiment, fact by fact, argument by fact and argument combined. It does not suffice to pick a flaw in this incidental statement or that to prove the fallacy of this side or that. Such a process is calculated to lead the attention off the main question."

The writer winds up his remarkable paper by adding:

"When the student has thus been followed up, his religious instruction gaining in robustness and extent as his intellectual faculties quicken, he learns to revere the religion that can suggest to him the complete solution to so many life problems; he feels proud of it; he proclaims its beauties and its truths wherever an occasion offers. He is prepared to fight the battles of his faith when he goes out into the world. His education has been, in deed as well as in name, thoroughly Catholic."

This, I repeat, is said of the religious part only of the programme enjoined as a task to our undergraduates in the last year of their collegiate course. The other branches of history, mathematics, science in general, etc., must be added to it in order to understand the complete impossibility of the undertaking.

But there is, moreover, this to be said, that the difficulty consequent upon the details above mentioned regard still more the professors than the students. Where can we find men not only possessing more Oriental knowledge than Renan and able to cope with Strauss in "rationalizing Biblical criticism," but chiefly writers with "the unction of a Bonaventura," and "the mental grasp of an Aquinas?" The writer has let his pen run too fast here, and if the "superior instruction" that we desire for our colleges required absolutely the fulfilment of such conditions as these, we might as well give it up in despair and make up our mind to continue plodding as we have done so far.

Thank God, to batter down successfully the pretentious systems of agnostics and positivists, there is no need of going through such a complicated method as this, and obliging our young men to "meet, all along the line, experiment by experiment, fact by fact, argument by fact and argument combined." There would never be an end of it. The "superior instruction" advocated here must be such as to form the minds of our young men, so as to render them able to complete afterwards their education with the help of the lessons they have heard and of the books placed in their hands or indicated to them.

For if we have not properly "textbooks" on the subjects to be studied, many able articles of Catholic, scientific, and historical reviews have already appeared, and others are being periodically published, with copious references to important works which we already possess, so that before long the Catholic warrior will be in possession of a full panoply, on which he may rely for all emergencies, and "meet," if need be, "experiment by experiment, fact by fact, and argument by fact and argument combined." Of this, more details will soon be afforded. We must not believe that, so far, our adversaries have had the best of the controversy. Catho-

lics have already many reasons for being *proud* of their religion, for *revering* it, and "proclaiming its beauties and its truths wherever an occasion offers."

All these reflections, however, prove that our collegiate course is not sufficient, and that it must be supplemented by something of a higher order. Our colleges have been, so far, too limited in their sphere of usefulness, and have not sufficiently enlarged the circle of their studies; or, rather, the instruction they have given has been deficient in depth, and the completeness of their programme has been more showy than real, more indicative of good intentions than productive of satisfactory results. Still, a larger and stronger scope could scarcely be expected of them in the circumstances in which they have been founded and carried on. Nay; for the great majority of students, they have done all that was and *is* possible; and if a superior course of instruction is added to the usual and actual scheme, it must be limited to a comparatively small number of the most promising pupils. This consideration is of a great importance. It will add considerably to the possibility of success, and on this account must be kept in view for a few moments.

The enlightened part of the population in any country does not require more than the elements of a liberal education. As was said previously, men have not been created equal in mind, and few only can soar into the upper regions of the intellect. Those who compose the aristocracy of wealth naturally wish that their sons should reach the top of the ladder in knowledge, but a greater than they has decreed that many born in obscurity—nay, poverty—should be endowed with higher natural gifts, and become more eminent in the world of mind.

On account of this difference of aptitude it can be maintained that the mass of educated people are unable to rise above a common level of *universal knowledge*, as it is called. What do they need intellectually for taking their part in public affairs or engaging in private speculations and enterprises? When they can speak understandingly and with accuracy of expression on the various subjects which occupy, in general, the men of their class; when their judgment has been sufficiently formed to make them avoid the blunders of the ignorant; when they can appreciate some of the motives which influence the men by whom they are surrounded—we do not speak here of moral character, since there is question only of instruction and knowledge—they are sufficiently prepared to take their part in the drama of life and act becomingly on the stage of the world.

There are only a few who can aspire to a much higher goal, place themselves by their minds at the head of society, and become, each in his sphere, an acknowledged leader of thought and

action. But these few, as was seen, are absolutely necessary in a great nation. The mass of even enlightened citizens need not, in any case, plunge into the depth of learning, institute inquiries into abstruse questions, or find out new truths and benefit mankind by their discoveries. For the great number, therefore, a solid but limited education is sufficient. Our colleges have furnished their quota to the cultured classes of society. Starting from absolute nonentity they now send annually into the world a constantly increasing number of young men who do honor to their nationality and religion. They are found in all the walks of life—in the Church and in courts of law, in commerce and speculation, in the school and at the bed of the sick, etc. They are intellectually as efficient as the graduates of other establishments can be, and if in superior instruction they are still very imperfect, their deficiency in this regard is not worse than elsewhere. There are weak points, no doubt, in the methods adopted in their collegiate courses; but this is the case with all human institutions, which can never reach absolute perfection. One thing is certain, that educators among us are full of zeal for their functions, and the religious motives which prompt them to neglect nothing belonging to their duty, are as powerful at least as the much larger salaries which other professors receive. As to the students, Catholic young men have a mind like all others, and it is generally admitted that American youths of all classes and conditions know how to make use of the means of instruction afforded them.

This being well understood, it is time to examine in what must consist the superior instruction herein advocated, the necessary limitations as to the number of establishments into which it is capable of being introduced, and the chief means to be taken for avoiding the danger of failure, which is always fatal at the beginning of such enterprises as this.

IV.

If by superior instruction we meant the thorough study of the highest branches of knowledge necessary to form the future leaders of the nation, and to produce a class of Catholics ardent in their conviction and fully able to defend their religion against the assaults of modern adversaries, a well-organized university would be absolutely required, and the intention is not to discuss here the question of opportunity for such a vast project. Still, to prove that the time has not yet arrived for it would not be difficult. A single remark might perhaps suffice. When complete Catholic universities existed in Europe the time devoted to superior studies by those young men who were destined to occupy important posi-

tions in Church or State was so far protracted that no one in this age and country would think of undertaking the task. In the last July number of the *Dublin Review* appeared a most interesting article on St. Francis de Sales, containing very curious details as to his studies, which cannot be reproduced *verbatim* here, but which it would be good that all men interested in these questions should read attentively. It is sufficient to say that the young man, after *two* years given to rhetoric, that is, to literature and oratory, studied philosophy *four* years under such men as J. F. Suarez and J. Dandini. Then, wishing to serve God in the Church, he began his theology, to which he devoted *six* years at the Sorbonne, then the highest theological school in France. Finally, going to Padua, attracted thither by the reputation of Guido Pancirola, he went through a course of law lasting *five* years, and then thought he was fit to take his degrees.

After reading the whole passage in the *Dublin Review* the reader naturally concludes that in case we ever have universities in this country they will not be of so thorough a character. Still, it is not to be imagined that this long preparation of St. Francis de Sales was spent in the discussion of idle questions, such as flippant writers attribute to the scholastic schools. The students as well as their instructors knew the value of time, and could distinguish what was important and what was not.

The superior instruction at which we aim must be of far humbler proportions; yet it must include whatever is required for the formation of future leaders in thought and action and strong Christians in faith and practice. Consequently, the highest views must be displayed in metaphysics, ethics (including law), natural science (with the discussion of the chief questions of the day), history from a Catholic standpoint (that of Christianity in particular). We have in this short sketch more than can be embraced in a biennial post-graduate course, but it must be understood, as was said above, that a good part of it can be left to the young men themselves. Well-grounded, as we must suppose them, in the most important branches of the whole programme, it will not be difficult for them to complete their education in that respect in reading books which have been lately published by Catholic authors. Some more details must be added here to a transient word already uttered. If it is true, as was said, that there is a lack of *textbooks* which could be placed in the hands of our students when engaged in the higher course, there are now many works in which the sophisms of agnostics and positivists are scientifically rebutted. The important and almost invaluable *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, published at Brussels, discusses, every three months, some of these subjects, and gives in each of its numbers critical reviews of the new books

which advocate the Christian side and also of those which favor the new theories. The French language, in which the *Review* is written, cannot be an objection. Natural history, particularly geology and anthropology, forms an important branch of the subjects treated in it. Holy Scripture, in its bearing on science, is interpreted in the most thorough-going manner. Everything of importance dependent on the explanation of Genesis, of the whole Pentateuch, of prophecy, of Jewish history, of the miraculous character of the New Testament, is periodically brought forward.

Another publication of the same scientific character, *La Revue des Questions Historiques*, published at Paris, is performing the same apologetic task with regard to history. Though the questions connected with French annals are, perhaps, too predominant in it, still the most important historical objections ever raised against the Church with regard to the Old and New Testaments, as well as in connection with the post-Christian history of mankind, have their full share of attention, and contribute powerfully to the vindication of truth obscured previously by unscrupulous or badly informed writers. The same *Review* contains, also, critical notices of all the best and the worst books which appear, at this time, on those subjects in France, Germany, England, Italy, etc.

These two *Reviews*, consequently, are invaluable not only on account of the special questions they treat of, but particularly because they point out the best books which can now be consulted on those subjects. They have already presented to their readers many means of reliable information which previously we had not. They continue their task with perseverance and efficiency. Soon we will have in them a full panoply, as I called it, to fight the battle of truth against the innumerable errors of the day.

A last reflection on this branch of our subject is of some importance, and it is this: If the students have already in their possession the means of completing their education after having received, during two or three years, the instructions of able professors, the task also of the professors is rendered possible if not altogether easy. There is no need of each of them being a specialist on each particular subject of which he must treat in his class. This would be preferable, but cannot yet be practically obtained. He has, however, a mine of wealth out of which he can draw treasures of most reliable information. If this was not the case we should not dare to propose the adoption of this project. But at this moment even, there is nothing impossible in the task which before long will be altogether easy, when the process shall have been going on during a few years in some model establishments.

The reader might wish that I should be more precise still, and at once trace the outlines of such a post-graduate course as is in-

tended. I must say that I do not feel competent. This must be left to those who should be chosen to undertake it. Being intrusted with the development of a mighty plan, the plan itself must come from them. As it is designed for the glory of God, God will enlighten them and make them His instruments. I have done enough with suggesting a simple idea, which I know is in the mind of many others. But I must declare that I speak here in my own individual name. I am not even the mouthpiece of others, and cannot say if what I propose shall have the approval of any one. It is likely that my motives will not be distrusted; I claim nothing more in this project.

It is important, however, that the scheme—whatever it may be—should be connected with some, at least, of the subjects already touched upon in the previous class of philosophy. Only, whilst the simple elements were then imparted to the students, far greater developments should be given to the most important branches of inquiry. That a great prominence should be bestowed on the studies of natural history (which are the only ones that agnostics and positivists think worthy of their attention) is a question difficult to solve, and which I will not discuss. But in case this were done, the sound principles of scholastic philosophy, such as they have always been taught, must never be discarded, as *belonging, forsooth, to an ignorant age*. Even physics become chaotic and often unreliable, when the great axioms of human reason are set aside to look only at phenomena, and judge of them most of the time by a one-sided and imperfect empiricism. Experiments in physical investigations are, no doubt, absolutely necessary, and the facts observed must be admitted. But often the conclusions drawn from these facts are unreliable, because they present only one face of nature. How often did not the theories of physicists, though based on experiments, require changes or even a complete reversal? On the contrary, the principles on which the human mind relies, and which form its groundwork, must be regarded as vouchers of absolute truth, able to throw a strong light even on physical investigations. My meaning will be better understood by referring to a late article in the *Catholic World* on the "Constitution of Bodies," which is a model in this regard.

But if there is doubt as to the introduction of a complete study of natural history and physics in our course of superior instruction, there can be none as to a thorough course of ethics including the principles of law. The new morality taught by agnostics and positivists is one of the worst features of their systems. The *Data of Ethics*, of Mr. Herbert Spencer, sap at the foundation of duty, such as it has always been understood by true philosophers—not to say by Christians. Mr. Darwin, in his *Descent of Man*, openly

proclaims that morality is essentially the same for animals as for man, and that a pointer dog *ought* to point, and a retriever *ought* to retrieve, absolutely for the same reason that man *ought* to perform his moral duty. When such is the case—and it is the case for nearly all positivists—when particularly these doctrines appear true to some and most plausible to many, it is of utmost importance that our young men should be taught better, and should thoroughly be able to pass judgment on those sophisms, and to expose them before others.

Again, though the branch of natural history called anthropology has not yet been sufficiently elucidated by true scientists, it is most proper that whatever is certainly known in that branch of study, and also what is still problematical should be perspicuously distinguished and stated. Many writers, even Catholic, consider as true, or at least very probable, conclusions drawn from prehistoric studies as to the high antiquity of man, which other able scientists think are still unproven, and may be after all rash and hasty. It is on this field and in the branch of geology called palæontology, that the great battle between truth and error most probably shall be fought. Every impartial man easily understands that it would be often fatal to grant as indubitable what at best is only conjectural. Still some Catholic writers do not seem to perceive the danger, and play too often in the hands of adversaries. The celebrated Abbé Bourgeois was eminently one of them. God may give rest to his soul.

Finally, one of the most important subjects of investigation in our superior course, is at this moment the vindication of Holy Scripture in its canon, authenticity, inspiration, and interpretation. The most violent attacks against Christianity have always been and are still directed against the Bible. The task of the apologist in our day, if complex and lengthy, is at least less arduous than it formerly was, on account of the daily discoveries which are made in that interesting field, and confirm the truth of Catholic doctrine on all points which have ever been controverted.

These studies must be carried on with such completeness that the young men who should feel a peculiar leaning toward some of them, would be naturally inclined to apply themselves to it during the remainder of their lives, and become specialists on that particular subject. This is done in all the nations of Europe, but has so far scarcely been attempted in this country. It is chiefly from specialists of eminence that nations derive those benefits which make their existence necessary to them. The reader has not forgotten the few words which were said on that subject. All nations have need of them for the highest purposes of civilization.

In this country the only specialists universally known are those

who devote their lives to invention in the mechanical arts, and the United States are pre-eminent by the number of these most useful men. But this requires often more skill than mind, more combinations of devices than real strength of intellect. This is in fact scarcely included in our plan, and for us specialism soars into the regions of the beautiful, the good, and the true. The best preparation for treating of such high themes is to apply the mind during several years of the beginning of manhood to the most serious scientific and religious investigations, as a basis for some ulterior object.

A complete university would be still more desirable; but is this now possible? Is there not a previous link required between colleges, such as we have them, and that highest degree of universal knowledge? In the present scheme can be found the necessary link between what we possess and what we all desire. This is absolutely wanting at this moment; and the progress consequent upon it shall be so considerable that we can very well feel satisfied with it. The project, however, is not without great difficulties of detail, which must be summarily mentioned.

V.

The chief ones can soon be reviewed by considering the fact that this very project has already been attempted in several Catholic colleges, and if I am well informed these attempts have invariably ended in failure. Yes, the necessity for it is so great that for a long time already the subject has engrossed the attention of our best instructors. By examining the causes of their want of success we will be less in danger of failing another time.

Most of these attempts have been made in boarding colleges, and the young men who wished to follow the new post-graduate course were obliged to keep the disciplinary regulations of the house. It could not, of course, be otherwise. The consequence was that the number of students was extremely small, and soon dwindled down to nothing. This came from both parents and students; from parents who, having already made many sacrifices for the education of their sons, could not or would not bear any longer the same burden; from the young men who, having received their degree, did not like to continue boarders in a college, and wished at once to begin an active life.

This difficulty can be obviated in a very simple way, namely, by establishing the post-graduate courses only in important and populous cities, where the students are not boarders, but come to college for their classes. The lectures of the post-graduate course, moreover, would not be attended during the day, but in the even-

ing, when business is over in the city, and the ordinary pupils have left the school. Thus the students of the superior course of instruction would be able to choose a profession, and begin to work for it directly after taking their degree of A.B. They could devote their leisure time to the serious consideration of the evening lectures at which they would assist, and which might not take place oftener than twice or three times a week. In the supposition that the new professors should attract their attention from the very beginning, I have no doubt that their number would rapidly increase, being composed of our most intelligent young men in all the walks of life; clergymen recently ordained, students of medicine, of law, of engineering, clerks in large and influential establishments, etc.

Only one thing might be in the way of complete success, and this is the universal spirit of this country, which is bent almost exclusively on immediate advantages; so that when young men start in life with an object in prospect, they throw themselves entirely into it, and cannot think of a future advantage which may even interfere with their present intention. This is in the main beneficial, and results into a profitable activity for the whole nation. But, as was said before, God everywhere grants higher intellectual gifts to a few, who feel a secret leaning for a higher vocation. They know that the knowledge they have acquired at college is very limited, and wish to lay a more solid foundation for their future improvement. These would form the first nucleus of our post-graduate courses, and a sufficient number of pupils would be found for them.

The second difficulty, which must be looked into for a moment, comes from the choice of professors to be appointed for that object. It is known that it is not always easy to find able teachers for the higher classes of the ordinary collegiate course. The task must be still more arduous in this new undertaking. For this reason, no doubt, whenever a post-graduate course was heretofore added to the ordinary curriculum, it was limited to a single year, and a single professor was appointed for it. In the new arrangement, not less than two, and as much as possible three, will be necessarily required. This will be a serious difficulty in many places. But a couple of prudential measures can to a great degree obviate it. The first must be to establish permanently a small number only of those new institutions. The endeavor to annex a post-graduate course to every one of our colleges, which seemed for awhile to prevail, is evidently preposterous, and must always end in failure. It was probably suggested by the common fault of those Americans who blindly follow the dictum of fashion, and try to rival each other in dress, furniture, architecture, eating and drink-

ing, etc. But this strange mania is particularly hurtful in education, because it forms a mould for the mind which forestalls nearly all intellectual progress, in a country eminently progressive in many other points.

The second measure to be adopted will consist in placing these few establishments in large, or, at least, important cities, wherever there are day colleges with a considerable number of pupils, and a more imposing graduating class at the end of the course. It is invariably in such localities as these that it is more easy to find professors without calling them from distant places. These intellectual centres are better furnished with subjects who propose to devote their life to study and teaching. With these precautions it is not presumptuous to hope that the country at large, and the Catholic Church in the United States, would derive immense benefits from the proposed undertaking.

In concluding, however, it is important to make some remarks on the great object which must be chiefly kept in view. This is the raising of intellect in our young men to a higher level, more still than the total triumph of truth over error on the various questions studied in this superior course. This last result must be chiefly the consequence of the first. It was said that the course itself, developed afterwards, must furnish a "panoply" or a complete armor of defence against the aberrations of the day. But we must not conclude from this that we shall ever be able to convince our adversaries, and oblige them to confess their defeat. This would be a quixotic undertaking. We can produce conviction on those who have not yet embraced those errors. We can secure the faith of those who belong to its "household;" and this alone would be a great achievement worthy of a hard labor. As to those whose mind has been once totally imbued with modern delusions, all we can hope is to prevent them from openly boasting that their arguments have not been answered, and that their theories are faultless.

To give a proof of it it suffices to know the fact that there is not, perhaps, a country in Europe, where the Catholic side of those questions has been better and more strongly expressed than lately in France. How many agnostics and positivists have been converted by these discussions? I know only of one, namely, M. Littré, who died a Christian, after having been one of the most ardent positivists of the age. When M. Pasteur, one of the first scientific discoverers in France, and a thorough Catholic, was lately received as a member of the *French Academy* in the place of M. Littré, who had just died, he proclaimed openly his belief that positivism was absolutely false, and could not agree with the latest data of science; when, in the fervor of his zeal, he condescended

to give a short, but incontestable refutation of it, he was loudly applauded by the learned and most refined assembly that listened to him. His address was afterwards published by nearly all the great periodicals of France. Still we have not heard of any conversion from this great and noble speech.

It is but too true that when once the intellect of man has been vitiated by sophism, it loses its power of acknowledging truth, and cannot recover it but by the greatest efforts, seconded by the grace of God. Sometime this blindness of man's intellect seems to be an incurable disease; and since no one that I know has ever expressed this deplorable fact better than Donoso Cortes, in his *Essay on Catholicity, etc.*, I will end by a short quotation, more capable of making impression on the reader than all I could say:

"There is a secret and close affinity between human reason and absurdity. Sin has united them by the bonds of an indissoluble alliance. . . . . You who aspire to subjugate people, to rule nations and to control human reason, proclaim not that you are the depositaries of clear and evident truths; above all beware of producing your proofs, if you have them, because the world will never acknowledge your authority, but will rather rebel against the rude yoke, which such evidence would impose upon them. Proclaim, on the contrary, that you possess an argument which will disprove a mathematical truth, which will demonstrate that two and two make five; that there is no God, or that man is God; that the world has until now been the slave of shameful superstitions; that the wisdom of ages is simply pure ignorance; that all revelation is an imposture; that all government is tyranny and all obedience slavery; . . . . that good is evil and evil is good; that the Devil is God and God is the Devil; that beyond this world there is neither hell nor heaven; that the world we inhabit is, and has been, a real hell, but that man can transform it into a true paradise, which it is destined to become; that liberty, equality, and fraternity, are dogmas incompatible with the Christian religion. . . . .

"Announce these propositions, and you may rest assured that, at the mere assertion of such things, the world will wonder at your wisdom, and, fascinated by such a display of science, will listen to your opinions with the greatest attention and respect."

Should any one find exaggeration in all this, he must nevertheless remember that these *suppositions* of the great writer are facts; all the absurd *propositions* mentioned here have been literally set forth, and we hear many of them every day. Donoso Cortes was not, therefore, in fault when he began by exclaiming: "There is a secret and close affinity between human reason and absurdity!" We cannot hope to convert many of our erring brothers, however irrefutable our demonstrations may be.

LABOR DISCONTENT.

The Relations of Political Economy to the Labor Question. By Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, etc. Boston. A. Williams & Co. 1882.

Elements of Political Economy, with Especial Reference to the Industrial History of Nations. By Robert Ellis Thompson, M.A. Philadelphia. Porter & Coates. 1882.

ONE of the serious questions of our century is the increasing frequency of collisions between labor and capital, not in one country, but in nearly every part of the civilized world. In the United States the rapid concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, the immense strides to power of great corporations, on the one hand, and the influence of the employed in associations on the other, render the collisions so continuous and serious that a solution of the difficulty becomes of vital importance to the welfare of the republic.

It has been treated as an abstract question; it has been treated from the standpoint of political economy; but the treatment in either case has left the question practically where it was before. In the abstract the possession of capital by individual or corporation, no matter by what means acquired, gives the right to obtain labor at the least possible rate, with no further obligation towards the one who supplies the labor required than the payment of the lowest stipend. Political economy, by professing to regard the general welfare of a community as a necessary element, limits to a certain extent the absolute power of capital, and makes some claim for labor. It seeks to render "labor more generally attractive and remunerative without impairing the efficiency of capital, so that all the workers of society may have their proper share in the distribution of profits."

That it has hitherto effected anything in this direction is very doubtful; its theories have produced no actual result. Political economy has virtually proved itself inadequate to the task.

Mr. Wright admits this. "Political economy," he confesses, "has failed to see that the highest industrial prosperity of nations has attended those periods most given to moral education and practices." He belongs to the new school which regards religion and morality as potent factors not to be disregarded by political economy in its consideration of living questions. "History," he continues, "is full of lessons from which the new school will attempt to teach that the growth of a healthy, intelligent, and vir-

tuous operative population is as much for the pecuniary interest of manufacturers themselves as for civilization; that the decline of the morals of the factory means the decline of the nation, and that the morals, the force, the higher welfare of the nation depend upon the welfare of the working masses." Yet, if we mistake not, Mr. Wright is the very man who, in an official document issued in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, characterized the French Canadians, who as we shall see are by his own criterion the most moral and best of the factory population of the State, as "the Chinese of the Eastern States,"—a sad instance showing that neither philosophical studies nor high official position can raise a man from the slough of religious hate in which his race has wallowed for centuries, and that not even the new school of political economy can make him enough of a man to treat a subject with fairness or even decency, if there is a Catholic element in it.

If the older school failed the new school will, we fear, in its attempt to engraft morality and religion into the science, merely give it a factitious life by sectarianism and bigotry.

While the political economists thus admit their failure, and build hopes on new schools, a large class of men deride all attempts at reform, and hold that the question will right itself in the end, and that no control is required in the future to prevent great public disasters. These writers maintain that in a country like ours, if a man is sober, industrious, and economical he will acquire capital and pass from the ranks of labor to that of capital. But this again is mere abstract reasoning. An artisan may place the savings of his economy in a home for his family, but in most cases has to subject it to a mortgage to some capitalist, individual or corporate. The capitalists of the country by their gambling in stocks or produce bring on a panic, foreclosures follow, the homes of the artisans are sold and bought in by the capitalist, and the artisan sees all the petty capital he had acquired swept away, although he had been sober, industrious, and economical. Even where he succeeds in acquiring property free from mortgage, he is not safe; capitalists may project public improvements, which may be wild, but capital secures legislative authority, a municipal body carries out the work, assessments to an enormous extent are laid, the capitalist increases his capital, then the bubble bursts, the property is not worth the assessment laid, and the artisan sees the home acquired by his sobriety, industry, and economy swept away from him. This is not a case of rare occurence; almost every city and town in the country can furnish hundreds of examples.

These constantly recurring financial crises add to the wealth of the great capitalists and corporations, who profit by the ruin of the small proprietors, mainly artisans, and recall the saying of one who

had seen great vicissitudes of fortune, that "gold is in its last analysis the sweat of the poor and the blood of the brave."

The prices of food, clothing, rent, depend on the great capitalists, and are kept constantly fluctuating by them. The government of the country cannot impose a tax on the citizens with the ease or collect it as surely as the railroads can by the concerted action of half a dozen men, who by adding to the price of freight can lay a ten per cent. tax on flour, coal, butcher's meat, or cotton.

All the quantities in the problem are variable, but variable at the will of capital. On capital depends the prices of the commodities of life, and capital fixes the remuneration of the artisan, by which alone he can obtain the commodities. When panics have swept away the savings of artisans, when their homes are confiscated by insurance companies, municipal corporations, or crashing savings-banks, and they find their wages inadequate to supply their wants, then comes the demand for higher remuneration. If it is not met, the laboring class sees the necessity of combined action to produce some result. This has led to the formation of Trades Unions, and the artisan makes himself a slave to a new organization in hope of obtaining what he deems just and equitable. He becomes a mere machine in the hands of the union; when it ordains a strike he ceases to work, and aids in compelling others by argument or by force to cease labor also.

The railroad strike a few years ago, and the freight-handlers' strike of 1882, paralyzed the whole transport trade of the country; strikes at the coal mines have frequently almost cut off the supplies of fuel; and strikes in manufacturing branches have in one locality after another arrested the great industries of the land.

We are now and have for some years been governed by those who favor and uphold a protective tariff, and the government by placing heavy duties on certain goods from foreign countries aids the American manufacturer here to obtain a remunerative price for the articles produced in his establishment. The repeated strikes of the operatives, however, show that the manufacturers in their dealings with the hands do not imitate the generosity of the government, but seem to consider the enhanced price a personal gift to themselves, not one intended to be shared with their employees.

When strikes become unusually numerous, or a general strike sweeps over the land, and violence and rioting ensue to such an extent that the militia have to be called out at the agonized cry of capital for help, movements are made in State legislatures to check strikes and prevent strikers from preventing those who are willing to work from continuing their daily labor; but in a system as corrupt as ours, the members of legislative bodies are then thrown into a quandary. Capitalists can give liberally and do spend lav-

ishly to secure legislation which will aid their projects; but, on the other hand, in districts where there are many operatives, their votes are too numerous to be lost or even endangered. The result is the passage of half-hearted acts, that give promises with no intent to fulfil, that try to meet both sides.

The attitude of the sects towards strikes shows no strength. Protestantism in its multitudinous forms, all strong in negativing doctrines and practices but essentially weak in carrying any out, can do nothing. It instinctively sides with wealth against poverty, and is fast losing the hold till of late possessed by some of its sects over the artisan class. Catholicity stands in a different position. It has definite doctrines, points that arise in daily life are decided by fixed principles, and logical deductions from truths already recognized, and when decided in the court of highest appeal are weighed far from the turmoil of the passionate elements which here on the spot may cloud the judgment.

The clergy of the Catholic Church in the United States can exercise little influence over the capitalists. The great corporations, soulless, with officers who disavow individual responsibility, under the system of dual conscience so prevalent among us, are not controlled by Catholics; few of the great capitalists are Catholics, so that the influences of the Church cannot reach them. Where Catholics have acquired very great wealth, it seems especially to harden their hearts not only to divine grace but to the natural instincts of benevolence; and over this class the minister of God finds that the promises and menaces of the Gospel have lost all power.

But the field of labor of the priest is especially among the poor; he is known and welcomed in the apartments of the operative; the children attend his school; the parents approach the sacraments he administers; he comes to know their hopes and their trials and naturally sympathizes with them. Where he sees them trying by legitimate means to obtain better wages for their labor, he cannot but encourage them to do so; and he is hopeful as long as they remain within the bounds prescribed, but when he sees secret associations formed, oaths and grips introduced, he is compelled to warn his flock against the insidious poison proffered to their lips. As strikes go on, and are beginning to wane, his aid is sought on both sides to aid in effecting a compromise. The artisan or laborer losing faith in his union listens more calmly to advice; while the capitalist finding it necessary to make some concession can do it more gracefully and with less sacrifice of pride, when he affects a virtue if he has it not, and seems to honor religion by yielding to its minister what no combination could extort from him.

The priest in these cases acts individually, and often uncertainly, but the matter is one that calls for attention. The appeals to the workingmen, the tracts he reads on the subject, emanate, as a general rule, from minds imbued with communistic ideas, minds that ignore Christianity and its lessons, that mock at the higher interests—the soul and its salvation. All tends more and more to alienate the Catholic operative from the practice of his religion, even when he is not tangled in the meshes of a secret society, or a society so framed as to lead him, by almost certain steps, to others clearly forbidden by the laws of God.

There is a want of sound Catholic treatment of the question in the grave and sober words of the prelate; in the more popular forms of discussion and explanation by those accustomed to address men with little time or training for serious and profound thought. We need sound popular tracts on the subject to circulate among workingmen.

The field of operation for the Church is with us more circumscribed than perhaps in any other country. In England, France, Germany, even in Italy, a Catholic view of any great question of the day is always to be heard in the halls of the great legislative assemblies. Laws that touch the condition of the workingman, or which his well-being, here and hereafter, require, are examined or framed in accordance with the justice which the Church defines, and with a regard to his immortal soul; but in our Congress, and even in our State legislatures, a Catholic treatment of a great question is something utterly unheard of. This does not arise from hostility or disinclination to hear; on the contrary, the view of any absorbing topic based on the sound conservative doctrines of the Church, presented in a masterly manner, would arrest the general attention, and would be listened to with respect and interest. As it is, however, the voice of Catholicity is silent in those halls.

Catholics are virtually unrepresented in our legislative halls, and the few Catholics who reach them, are in most cases morally afraid of treating a subject from a Catholic standpoint.

The press, constantly becoming more and more unchristian in tone and spirit, is equally unleavened by Catholic views, and where the topics are handled in our own periodicals, they reach only a very limited circle, and are no more known or understood by the general public than if they were published in Africa or China.

But if the field is thus narrowed, it calls for all the greater energy and activity on our part in creating a school of Catholic political economy, to convince the workingman that in the Church he will find his soundest and surest guide, and that the wisdom of God and the guidance of the Holy Ghost are not promised to secret societies, but that, as clear violations of sound principles of moral-

ity, they can but lead to evil. And, as against the increasing spirit of communism, the man of property will learn that only in the sound, unerring, and unwavering doctrines of the Church is there any guarantee for what he possesses.

As a Catholic exponent of sound political economy, there is, perhaps, in our day no one who has achieved more than the present great and illustrious Bishop of Barcelona. . . . . A treaty with France was laid before the Cortes, in which he is a Senator. There were speeches upon it; some in favor, others in opposition. Meanwhile the Bishop of Barcelona was carefully studying the treaty in its bearings on the industry and the industrial classes of Spain, with all the light of thorough Catholic training in the highest school of ethics. When he rose and began to discuss the treaty, the superficial speakers and speeches were forgotten. With the hand of a master he showed that it struck a blow at the industries of Spain, which must lead to the impoverishment of the artisan, entailing want, beggary, temptation, and vice; transforming a contented and prosperous class into a source of anxiety and danger to the state; depriving them of all hope in this world and the next. In the older Cortes of Spain, by a most admirable arrangement, every class and interest was represented. Now the artisans had no distinct representative to look to their interests and see that they were not menaced, but to their delight they beheld their interests advocated with a learning and a skill that satisfied the statesman, while it was read and appreciated in every gathering of workingmen in Spain. The bishop's return to his episcopal city, busy, industrious Barcelona, was a triumph, and his public reception was an index of the feeling prevalent throughout the peninsula.

The movement of Bishop Ireland, in Minnesota, rests on sound principles of political economy. One of the evils of which Mr. Wright complains is thus stated: "Luxury—I speak of enervating luxury—depopulates the country and annihilates, by degrees, the class of husbandmen, for indolence and avidity tempt them to quit a laborious occupation for one which is more lucrative, though less certain. The ease in which the artificers of luxury live seduces the indigent peasantry, draws them to the manufacturing centres, and the country is deserted." Bishop Ireland sees all this, and sees that the peasant from abroad, landing here as an immigrant, is more likely to be demoralized in the great cities even than the American from the rural parts. He has for years been calling their attention to the rich fields of the West, and by his system he has led thousands to take up lands, and, by industry, temperance, and thrift, make themselves, in a few years, prosperous and comfortable farmers. Money invested in agricultural lands, though its

return may be comparatively low, is safer than when placed in savings-banks, stocks, or village and city property.

The new school which Mr. Wright represents recognizes "as fundamental elements of political economy the humanity of the world and its moral condition, because the best humanity is to be found where the best morality prevails. They recognize that it is by the labor of the people employed in various branches of industry that all ranks of the community, in every condition of life, annually subsist, and that, by the produce of this labor alone, nations become powerful in proportion to the surplus which can be spared for the exigencies of the state, and that, by the increase or diminution of the produce of this labor, states, kingdoms, and empires flourish or decay."

The author predicts that political economy will, in the near future, deal largely with the family, with wealth, with the state, as the three features of its doctrines, and not confine itself to wealth alone. Under family it will take cognizance of the relations of the sexes, marriage and divorce, the position of woman, and the education and employment of children. He admits that "in the sacredness of the family is found the strength of a people," but he deplores that "statistics prove three things conclusively: First, that for the past decade marriages have decreased in proportion to the increase of population; second, that divorces have increased; third, that illegitimate births have increased." He looks forward to the time "when the countless pulpits that, so far back as history can reach, have been preaching Catholicity or Anglicanism, Presbyterianism or Calvinism, or other isms, shall set to work to preach Christianity at last."

This is rather confused. The preaching of Anglicanism, Calvinism, Presbyterianism does not go back as far as history can reach; it does not even go back as far as the discovery of America—scarcely further than the settlement of St. Augustine. For centuries the Catholic Church has been preaching Christianity, a Christianity that, by its monastic orders, moulded the barbarous tribes of England, Belgium, Germany, Scandinavia, and Slavonia into civilized and Christian nations. If Christianity exists in any of those countries, even in a shadowy form, it is due to the old teachings of the Catholic Church. That the teachings of the Church and the safeguards it throws around innocence, the zeal it inspires for virtue, its jealousy of sacred family ties, all are the very elements for good which political economy craves, can be shown by the very statistics that reveal the sad state of affairs which this author deplores. In no part of the world had any form of Protestantism the field more completely and exclusively to itself than Calvinism had in Massachusetts. It controlled the State; citizenship was confined

to church members; no other form was tolerated; yet it is among the very people trained for generations in this school, that increased illegitimacy proves the wide spread of adultery and fornication, justifying the statement of Rev. Dr. Bacon, that the frequency of divorce in New England is the natural result of the deepseated immorality. It is worth noting, too, that in Scotland and Sweden, where a single Protestant denomination has been supreme and almost universal, the same low moral grade is shown by the statistician.

That this deepseated immorality, striking its deadly blows at the family, the matrimonial bond, and the sanctity of home, exists mainly among the Protestant portion of the community, is admitted, for in all discussions of the divorce question, in all calculations on statistics, the reserve is made of the Catholics, among whom divorces are never permitted. It was an old, stale charge that Catholicity opposed marriage, and, by its praise of a holy celibacy, tended to check the increase of population; but now statistics show that marriage among Catholics, although indissoluble, is more frequent than among Protestants, who, during the marriage service, can indulge the hope of a divorce if all does not go smoothly. That Catholic marriages are far more fruitful than Protestant marriages is no less clearly attested by statistics, for, even in Boston, the majority of infants born alive are baptized in the Catholic churches,.although Catholics are not more numerous than Protestants. The very existence of a celibate clergy and religious of both sexes is in itself a perpetual lesson to the Catholic to control his passions, and sanctify by moral purity the unmarried or married life.

As we have seen, the writer stigmatized the French Canadians as "the Chinese of the East;" yet a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, treating expressly of the factory towns, bore testimony to the close, well-ordered home life of these people; their quiet, orderly character; their frugality, sobriety, and virtue. It contrasted the conduct of the French girls with the flirting, saloon-visiting American girls. They came from a colony coeval with Massachusetts; like it, under religious influence from its foundation; but, while Calvinism in Massachusetts has produced only immorality, divorce, illegitimacy, Catholicity in Canada, dealing with a more lively and excitable race, has produced a virtuous people, the sanctity of the matrimonial tie, a genuine home life, pure maidenhood.

Catholicity is thus counteracting the disintegrating effect of Protestant teaching and theory. Of late years the vehicle of this teaching has been the public school. By the exclusion of all moral instruction, it has sapped the morality of the last and the

rising generation. When, in the course of a school life, the pupil is never taught the commandments,—"Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt not steal,"—he grows up with no conviction of the necessity of respecting his neighbor's life, the sanctity of his home, or his property. As long as some of the traditions of old Catholic life remain the fatal result of this godless teaching is not immediately apparent, but when it is tried on a race like the freedmen of the South, the results are alarming. An experienced New England teacher, occupying a high educational position in the South, wrote recently, with all frankness, that, till he had witnessed the result of the New England system of public schools on the negroes of the South, he had no conception how utterly immoral it was; it excluded religious and moral considerations, and he found the pupils ignored what was not taught.

Where the working class have not a strong religious training to fall back upon, the loss of their savings by depreciation of real estate, foreclosure, excessive taxation and assessments, investment in unsafe depositories, or other injudicious employment, creates a despondency and often checks all further inclination to labor and get on. Men sink back into listless apathy, as we see in Ireland, where every encouragement to industry is removed by the glaringly unsound system of agricultural land tenure; or, as is more commonly the case in our large cities, men feel themselves wronged and robbed by society, and array themselves against it, swelling the ever-increasing army of the dangerous classes, an army that receives many recruits, but never loses by desertion.

The charge is often made that the artisan class is unthrifty and extravagant. This arises in most cases from mere ignorance. They are systematically imposed upon and overcharged by petty dealers; they never in youth are taught to judge the quality of goods, or the proper articles to buy. Every one accustomed to enter the shops frequented by this class has seen these poor people egregiously imposed upon, unsuitable goods forced upon them at extravagant prices, and every advantage taken of their ignorance. Mrs. Somerville, in her labors for the emigrants to Australia, found this ignorance to be the source of so much loss that she undertook systematic instruction, and saw the happiest results. Unfortunately the work she inaugurated died with her; but it would be a much more useful branch in our schools than many taught there, which cannot under probable combination of circumstances be at all useful to the working class.

If in our parish schools practical instruction could be given to enable pupils to judge of the strength, value, durability of cotton, woollen, silk and mixed goods; the relative price of pieces from

different parts of butchered animals, the best parts for particular purposes, the most economical cuts and ways of preparing them, a very large percentage of their future earnings would be saved, and they would escape the common charge of unthrift and extravagance.

The investment of savings is a subject that seems to have received little attention. Government savings-banks like those in England would be the safest for city and town workers, who are not trained to agricultural labors, and therefore cannot well or wisely invest it in farming lands; the only other really safe and judicious investment is in government bonds, but the proper preservation of these is itself a matter of difficulty. Depositing in the ordinary savings-banks, and investment in city or town real estate or in stocks of any kind, always involves a great risk, which should be discountenanced. As, however, thousands, of comparatively poor men, subsisting by their daily labor, own in all parts of the country lands subject to mortgage, a movement should be made for legislation that will prevent the present system of confiscation by foreclosure. No act can be passed to impair the obligation of contracts; and where a mortgage when it falls due is called in, the right of the mortgagee may be held sacred; but a law may define that if it is allowed to continue without being called in, for thirty days after the time of payment fixed in the bond, it shall be held to be extended for five years. It is manifestly unjust that the mortgagee should be free to watch his opportunity in time of financial distress, and demand payment when the debtor cannot raise a new loan on the property, then sell it by foreclosure and buy it in, sweeping away all the savings of an industrious man. Legislation on this point is one of the greatest needs of the time. In the case of loans on personal property the State steps in to protect the borrower, and there is no sound reason why it should not interpose its protecting arm between the borrower on real estate and the pawnbroker who lends the money but seeks to grasp the pledge. A table of the foreclosures in this country in the last ten years, showing the amount of property bought in by mortgage-holders, and the amount of money lost by the property-holders, would be one of the most valuable additions to the study of political economy.

The cause of temperance requires all the encouragement possible. The wages of the mechanic are diminished more by indulgence in malt and spirituous liquors, than by any other means. The Catholic colonization schemes of the West wisely make the sale of liquors impossible in the settlements formed under their auspices. Drunkenness is the prevailing evil of our day, and its repression by the somewhat arbitrary exercise of power has been

attempted in many States; but mere State law can never make men moral; and here again the Church has a field peculiarly her own in which to lay a religious foundation for conversion. When the workman finds proper food well prepared and a pleasant home he will have less temptation to frequent the saloon; so that instruction in the proper use of money, already referred to, will help the cause of temperance. Where the wife is no housekeeper there is no home, and where there is no home man will seek a pleasant place for his hours of rest. Societies, like that of the Holy Family in Canada, can do much to improve the homes of our Catholic workmen, and they will render the greatest service to God and the country. A writer on political economy bears this testimony to what the Church has done, and shows what the Church may yet do. "So long as the ginshop and the bar-room are to the modern workman what the Church was to the peasant of the Middle Ages, viz., the only clean, warm and well-lighted room that he is welcome to visit in his hours of leisure,—so long will he go to them" (*Thompson*, p. 132).

We return from these considerations on the means of improving the condition of the working classes in general to the question of insufficient wages, the point where the workman finds that his earnings are not sufficient to give him a support, much less provide for a season of enforced idleness, either from sickness or suspension of work. The usual plan has been to secure an advance by a strike organized in a trades' union. Whether in this country these strikes have benefited the workingmen or not is a grave question as to which opinions differ, the data being insufficient to form a positively accurate judgment. The unions come to us from England, and are generally managed by operatives from that country. They have some bad points. They put the poor and careless workman on a level with the most learned, skilful and careful, by requiring the same rate of payment for both. "They have," as Thompson remarks, "unquestionably checked the growth of some of our industries, by limiting too much the number of persons who may be admitted as apprentices, a rule that does far more mischief in a rapidly expanding country than in one that is nearer the limit of its industrial capacities." They assume a power of dictation to employers, insisting on the choice of foremen and superintendents, or on their continuance or removal against the wish and interest of employers. In practice the sober married operative seldom attends the meetings of the union. The idle, homeless, and more worthless attend, and by noise and numbers carry the union for a course or policy to which the better class of workmen reluctantly submit. They dare not act against the resolve, and know too little of the union machinery to modify or reverse it. From a moral

point of view this surrendering of individual responsibility is the worst feature. No man should belong to any union in which any demand for increased wages, any strike or line of policy is adopted, unless it be done in a general meeting of the trade when every member has a chance to vote. United action is, in many cases, the best and most effective means for labor to secure fair terms in dealing with capital; but it must be united action fairly agreed to by the whole body, not sprung on them by a few, and reluctantly acquiesced in by the many, under the pressure of a supposed obligation which they cannot avoid.

Strikes as against individual masters have not often succeeded; the late strikes in this country against great railroad corporations have failed; and it is not easy to see how they could have hoped for success. Where the strike is by highly skilled workmen not easy to replace, the probabilities of success are great; but as you descend the probabilities decline, and in unskilled labor are very slight, as the numbers requiring to be supported during a strike are very large, and the chances of the employer finding other workmen very great.

A strike is a time of great temptation to workmen. Habits of idleness are formed; a man loses self-respect by living on a kind of charity, that fosters a spirit of beggary; saloons thrive and homes are filled with despondent men. It is somewhat painful to see the helplessness of the general class of operatives. During a strike it is rare to see a striking workman turn his idle time to account by trying his hand upon some other work. There are fish in our rivers and bays, and men, as a relaxation, go off to fish; but who ever saw a striker go to fish to supply a meal for his family, or stroll over pastures to gather mushrooms for food, as many a man did in the South during the late war? That striking is a bad training must be conceded. It does the individual harm, and confers no corresponding benefit; as a means of attaining the object in view it seldom succeeds.

The just remuneration for labor is not easily fixed. In the old time most countries regulated by law the price of the necessaries of life; but no attempt was made to fix the price for the countless forms of human labor, or make a scale for each trade and occupation; this will ever be impossible. Yet the price of the necessaries of life regulate the wages, which must go up as they rise. When rent, food, and clothing grow dearer, the wages fail to meet the wants of the workman; he asks for more. In principle he is entitled to it; for the wages previously fair are no longer so. The machinery of the capitalist, the farming land of the landlord are unproductive till human labor makes them so, and in the profit both should share: how far, is a problem that there is no clear criterion

to solve. Law, science, fail to draw the line. Religion, that teaches moderation, a love of our neighbor, must assert her sway, and lead men to regard those working for them from a higher and nobler standpoint, to see in their welfare the best security for what they themselves possess. As an able editor remarks: "Labor was originally a curse; Christianity made it a blessing, a means of attaining merit. Take away the necessity of earning a living, or the desire to attain an advanced inequality, and there will be no wealth created by man. The ore will lie in the mine, the marble in the quarry."

The recent parade of workingmen in New York shows a widespread discontent among the operatives, and taken in connection with the recent strikes is a matter for serious thought. Catholics are largely represented, and the Church, if she is to retain her hold on them, must show them their danger, aid them in their lawful struggle, and sustain them in trial.

THE COMING TRANSIT OF VENUS.

NO astronomical problem was sooner attempted by the early scientists, none has more persistently resisted the most skilful efforts made to solve it, than that of the dimensions of the universe. In all ages the six thousand stars that may be detected by the naked eye, could not but arouse the admiration and excite the curiosity of the thoughtful. And in these days of scientific advancement and of the popularization of knowledge, when our highly improved instruments reveal to our gaze not six thousand merely, but about thirty million worlds, when astronomy has become the common property of men to such an extent that there are few not initiated into some of her secrets, inquisitive minds are still further stimulated in their endeavors to solve this problem.

It is not astonishing, then, that as men gaze into space, conscious that the bright specks in the sky are suns, many of them far exceeding our own in magnitude, whirling through space with attendant satellites like our planets, there should be a constant demand made for more accurate and thorough knowledge, and that astronomers should be urged and solicited to push to the very limit their pryings into those mysterious depths, to measure, as well as may be, those huge distances which reveal to us more strikingly

than any other created object, the infinite glory and the unfathomable immensity of the Creator.

In answer to this demand our large telescopes, aided by that smaller, but not less admirable instrument, the spectroscope, tell us something of the chemical composition of the stars, make us acquainted in a measure with their relative temperatures, and even reveal in many of them a motion hitherto quite unsuspected, as is shown by the appellation *fixed* star; but notwithstanding these advances, the old problem of the heavenly dimensions still baffles all efforts. However, we are better off than the ancients, who could measure only the lunar distance, the single stellar distance known until long after the discovery of the telescope of Galileo. Now by means of Kepler's laws we can determine with mathematical precision the ratio of the interplanetary distances; so that taking the interval between the earth and the sun as our unit we may say that we know just how far away the planets are. In like manner taking the earth's mass, ascertained by direct observation, as our unit of weight, we can determine with like exactness the weight of the planets.

Unfortunately the length of our astronomical unit,—the radius of the earth's orbit,—is not known with all desirable exactitude. The progress of science has furnished us with several ingenious methods to calculate it, prominent among which are those deduced from the observation of the transit of Venus, but by none of these methods have we yet arrived at a precise and certain estimate of the distance sought for. Hence it is that every fresh opportunity of verifying or correcting results previously calculated is waited for with eagerness by astronomers,—and as on the 6th of December next an occasion of the kind presents itself, it is proposed in the present article to give the public as clear and plain an idea as possible of the methods which astronomers may employ on that day to determine the solar distance by the observation of the transit of Venus which will then occur.

Those unacquainted with the difficulties the astronomer has to encounter, may wonder that while by means of observations taken by the unaided eye of man, the moon's distance was pretty accurately known many centuries ago, with all our fine instruments and improved methods, of which the scientists of our day are with reason proud, we cannot readily measure the earth's distance from the sun. But though the latter space is only 390 times greater than the former, a little consideration will render evident the vast difference between the two problems. How, in fact, do we measure the lunar distance? By means of the well-known trigonometrical method of finding the distance of any inaccessible object. Having chosen on the earth's surface a suitable base-line, and it is not diffi-

cult to lay off one six thousand miles in length, the angles formed by the lines joining the centre of the moon with the verticals at the extremities of the base, are readily measured, and from these elements with the necessary corrections is deduced the moon's distance; or, to speak more exactly, we measure the greatest angle which the radius of the earth can subtend as seen from the moon—this angle is known as the horizontal parallax—and knowing this angle we at once deduce from it the moon's distance. This simple surveyor's method, skilfully employed at the two English observatories at Greenwich and the Cape of Good Hope (the latter was established for this special purpose by the British government), has given us our best determination of the moon's position. In order to apply this method to the sun we ought to have a base-line longer than any available line on the earth's surface. As the diameter of our globe is less than eight thousand miles, and as simultaneous observations of the sun cannot be taken at the extremities of a diameter, it happens that the longest available base-line is scarcely more than six thousand miles. Taking the sun's distance at ninety-two million miles, the base of our triangle would be less than $\frac{1}{15000}$th part of either side. Suppose now a surveyor were to attempt to measure a distance of three miles on the earth's surface with a base-line of one foot, it is evident that his results would not be reliable. In this case his base-line would be about $\frac{1}{15000}$th part of the distance to be measured, and his task would be comparable to that of the astronomer seeking by direct trigonometrical calculation to measure the sun's parallax. In either case the angle at the vertex of the triangle—the parallax, in astronomical language—would be too small to be measured with any satisfactory exactness. In the case supposed the surveyor would have far fewer difficulties, however, than the astronomer, for he could make both observations at the extremities of his base, and he could be sure that the observations were made under the same conditions of the atmosphere. The astronomer must rely on an assistant thousands of miles away, and has no means of telling accurately the amount of error caused by the different atmospheric conditions in the two places.

But these difficulties, which have rendered any direct calculation impossible, have been so far reduced in our indirect methods as not to prevent us from obtaining satisfactory results, as for instance in the case of Mars, Venus, and some of the asteroids. Besides the three great processes to which allusion is here made, science has had recourse to five other modes of solving this question, two founded on our knowledge of the velocity of light, and known as phototachymetrical methods; and three called gravitational, deduced from the attraction existing between the earth, the sun, and the moon. The latter, though complicated, promise to afford in

time the most satisfactory and exact knowledge, when results can be deduced from a longer series of observations, and when we shall be better acquainted with the parallactic inequalities of the moon.

It would evidently be impossible to consider all these methods even cursorily in a single article. We shall confine ourselves to the method of indirect survey as applied to Venus at the time of her transits across the solar disk. Allusion may be made to the other plans where they serve to throw light upon the one under consideration, which is by far the most celebrated of them all.

When the planet Venus passes between us and the sun, it has the appearance of a blank disk moving over the face of the sun. These passages or transits as they are called, occur, as we know from astronomical tables, in the months of June and December, and for the last four centuries have come in a regular cycle, four times in every 243 years. The intervals between the four transits occurring in one cycle are, in order, 105½ years, 8 years, 121½ years, and 8 years; after which the intervals are repeated periodically, and will be so repeated for some centuries to come.

The dates of occurrence for eight centuries, four preceding and four following our own times, are, in Greenwich time,

1518, June 2d.	1882, December 6th.[1]
1526, June 1st.	2004, June 8th.
1631, December 7th.	2012, June 6th.
1639, December 4th.	2117, December 11th.
1761, June 5th.	2125, December 8th.
1769, June 3d.	2247, June 11th.
1874, December 9th.	2255, June 9th.

The first two transits in this list, those of 1518 and 1526, passed unnoticed. Kepler was the first who predicted a transit, that of 1631; but it happened at night for European astronomers, and at that time only in Europe could observations of such an event have been attempted. The very inexact tables of Venus then employed made Kepler and others overlook the next transit, that of 1639. This oversight is easily explained, because though in the table above given the transits are seen to occur in pairs at intervals of eight years, it is always possible that one of the pair may fail, and hence that several successive transits may be separated by intervals of over one hundred years' duration. Their recurrence at intervals

[1] The times of the beginning and the end of the transit for December next are as follows: For Washington the first internal contact will be at 9h. 17m. A.M., and for the States east of the Mississippi within a minute of that time (Washington mean time). The second will be at 2h. 39m. P.M. for Washington, for the Eastern States within one minute of that time, and one minute later for the Mississippi Valley. The first external contact precedes the first internal one by about 20 minutes, and there will be the same interval between the two last contacts.

of eight years arises from the fact that thirteen revolutions of Venus about the sun, are effected in nearly the same time as eight revolutions of the earth, the times of revolution being respectively for Venus 0.615 and for the earth 1. Now the path of these two transits is not precisely the same. In the June pair the path of the second transit remaining sensibly parallel to the first is twenty minutes north of it, while in the December pair the parallelism holds, but the path of the second is about twenty-five minutes south of the first. From this it follows that if the planet passes within four minutes of the sun's centre at a June transit, or within eight minutes of it at a December transit, the second supposed transit of that pair will not really occur, the planet passing without the sun's disk. For the sun's apparent disk being only of about thirty-two minutes diameter, it is clear that in the case supposed the path of the second transit in each pair cannot touch the sun's face. Hence we can readily understand how the small errors in the Venus tables used in the 17th century may have led astronomers into error as to the second transit of that pair, that is to say, the one of 1639, as they had misled Kepler with regard to the hour of its occurrence in 1631, when he looked for it during the day, while, as we have mentioned, it actually occurred at night.

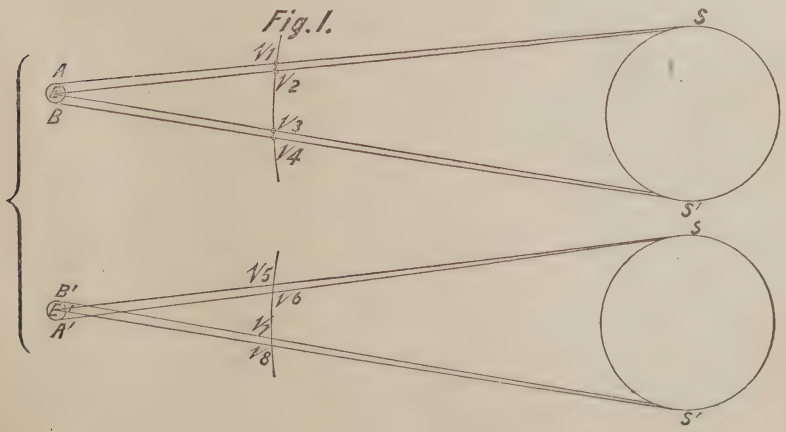
But happily the transit of 1639 was observed, though very imperfectly. What astronomers of the time overlooked was foreseen by a young clergyman, by name Horrocks, of Hoole near Preston, England. Unfortunately the transit occurred on a Sunday, professional duties prevented him from keeping a constant watch, and he only witnessed the end of the transit. He had time, nevertheless, to determine the exact position, and his observation is still a very valuable one.

Before passing to the first transits observed after careful preparation—those of the 18th century—we must endeavor to explain as clearly as the nature of the subject will permit, how, from the observations taken, we can pass to a knowledge of the parallax. This explanation is necessary to understand not only the nature of the observations themselves, but also the motives which lead to the choice of stations and instruments.

By solar parallax, as said before, is meant the angle under which the earth's radius is seen from the sun. If this body is not on the horizon, then the angle is simply called solar parallax, or actual solar parallax, while it has received the name of equatorial horizontal parallax when the sun is on the horizon, and the radius seen from it is the equatorial radius of the earth. In order to ascertain the solar distance, astronomers determine this last parallax, but as this cannot be found directly, they find some other parallax, and by calculation pass to the one sought for. Now there are three

different methods for determining this parallax by the observation of the transit of Venus; those of Halley and Delisle, and that *of position*, called sometimes Halley's modified method. As it is this last which is now principally employed, both in connection with photography and the heliometer—means unknown to the astronomer of the last century—we shall give an explanation of it, after having briefly outlined the two first, which are often called *methods of time*. This term has been applied to them on account of the ingenious device of their inventors, by which the measure of the angle of parallax has been replaced by one of time, at the moment when the planet is projected on the sun's disk as on a dial.

In 1677 Halley, the celebrated English astronomer, who gave his name to one of the periodic comets, proposed, for the first time, to deduce the solar parallax from the observations of the transit of Venus. This idea was suggested to him by his observation of a transit of Mercury. It is very difficult to explain his method briefly, and at the same time accurately, but the following considerations will serve to point out its nature. From well-known observations it has been ascertained that the earth revolves round the sun in a little over 365 days, while Venus performs its revolution in 224 days. If we suppose the earth to be fixed, then the revolution of Venus relatively to the earth, which is called the synodical revolution, would be in 584 days. As in one revolution Venus passes over 360°, the planet apparently moves in one day $\frac{1}{584}$°, or about $\frac{6}{5}$th of a second in a minute of time. This presupposed, we are ready to understand the method proposed by Halley.



Let A be the position of an observer on the earth's surface at the time of the first contact. S represents the sun, and V the position of Venus. Of course he would see the first contact earlier than a hypothetical observer placed at the centre of the earth,

which we denote by E, by the time that Venus takes to pass over the arc $V_1 V_2$. If we knew by calculation the exact instant that it would be visible from E, we could determine the arc $V_1 V_2$ by multiplying the time in minutes by $\frac{6}{5}$th of a second, and this arc would measure the actual parallax of the sun, or the angle subtended at the sun by the distance A E in that position. From this angle the equatorial horizontal parallax can be readily calculated.

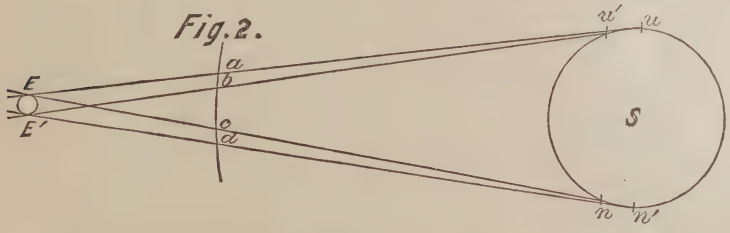
In a similar way the same observer, when brought in the afternoon to B by the earth's rotation, would see the end of the transit later, with reference to the hypothetical observer at E, by the same amount that it was seen earlier at A, if B be symmetrical with A. The difficulty is we cannot determine the precise time it would be visible at E, because we do not know with sufficient exactness the sun's and Venus's diameters. Halley overcame this difficulty by taking another station, where the observer would be at A^1 one afternoon at the beginning of the transit, and at the end would be at B^1 on the following morning. For such an observer the total duration with reference to the hypothetical observer at E would be shortened by the time that Venus would take to traverse the arcs $V_5 V_6$ and $V_7 V_8$, each of which measures the angle subtended at the sun by A^1 E, B^1 E, or the solar parallax at that time. And if we imagine A, B, A^1, B^1 to be symmetrically placed, the time of transit for the observer at A^1 B^1 would be shortened by precisely the same amount that it was lengthened for the one at A B. The difference of duration of the two transits would, consequently, be equal to four times the interval taken by Venus to pass over an arc measuring the sun's parallax, which would be the same for all the four symmetrical positions. Multiplying one-fourth of this difference in minutes by $\frac{6}{5}$th of a second of arc we shall obtain the parallax.

It must be noticed, however, that we have supposed that the places from which the observations were taken were symmetrically situated on the earth's surface, but this is not necessary, because astronomers can take into account the difference of position. This hypothesis was only introduced to simplify the explanation. One who has followed it will perceive how this method can be applied in actual cases.

The stations for the observations of 1761 and 1769 were named by Halley himself, and as far as the planetary tables then employed could guide him he was correct in his prevision. This method, unfortunately, cannot be applied except when the planet passes near the centre of the sun, because then only is the duration of the transit long enough to allow the observation to be taken from the second place, which we have designated as A^1. Besides this there are other difficulties which prevent the application of this method, not the least of which is the fact that the possibility of

finding such a station depends upon the parts of the earth's surface from which the transit is visible. Thus in 1874 there was no station whence the beginning of the transit could be observed in the afternoon and the end in the morning of the following day. For the transit of 1882, however, it is our good fortune to have a station in Sabrina Land, near the southern Pole, available for this kind of observation.

Another method was proposed by the eminent French astronomer Delisle, on account of the difficulties above mentioned. His method, in which the same device is kept of replacing the measure of the angle of parallax by that of time, affords us the advantage of being able to take one observation at a time only at each station, that of ingress or that of egress, or, in other words, this plan enables us to note the exact moment when the planet's dark point begins or ceases to pass over the solar disk. We can conceive this method in the following way: Let us suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that the earth is fixed, and that two observers are placed at E and E^1. Let us, moreover, suppose that these stations are at

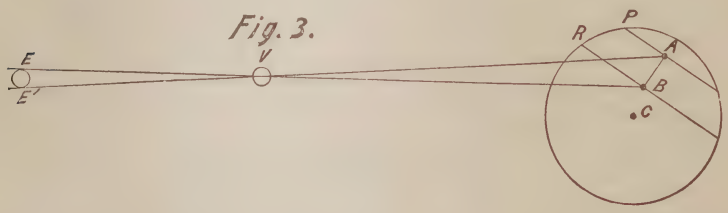


the earth's equator. It is obvious that the two observers would see both the beginning and the end of the transit at different times, namely, when the planet would be at *a* and *c*, and when it would be at *b* and *d*. Now if the longitude is very exactly known,—a thing possible, but by no means easy,—then we know the distance E E′, and by observing the difference of time it is possible to find the arcs *a c* and *b d*. Each of these arcs measures the angle under which the distance E E′ would be seen from the sun, and we have thus the means of immediately solving this important problem. The advantage of this method is that it can be applied even if only the beginning or the end of the transit is visible. Hence the danger of failure is considerably diminished. In practice, however, the calculations are somewhat more complicated than those we have pointed out. For it is well known that the earth is not at rest, still its motion can be easily taken into account. Allowances can also be made for the difference of the stations, even when they are not at the equator, provided always that they differ considerably in longitude. One will readily perceive that if more than two

stations are selected, either for Halley's or Delisle's method, the chances of success are increased, and means are thereby obtained to control the results. Besides, the observations taken at stations where the beginning and the end of the transit are visible, can be utilized in connection with either method.

But we must pass to a brief consideration of the *method of position*, or Halley's modified method. To understand this well we should bear in mind the third of Kepler's laws, namely, that "the squares of times of revolution of the planets are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances from the sun." Applying this law, which was established independently of the dimension of the solar system, to the case of Venus and the earth, we conclude that the ratio of their relative distances from the sun is 0.72 and 1; because, as we have already said, their times of revolution are respectively about 224 and 365 days. This premised, let us now pass to the consideration of a diagram representing the method employed at present, either in connection with photography, with the heliometer, or with a measure of time.

Fig. 3.



Let us imagine the earth fixed and two observers placed at E E', the extremities of a diameter perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, and let us, likewise, imagine the planet reduced to a single point V, which coincides with its centre of figure. Let us also replace the round surface of the sun by a single plane disk, perpendicular to the line joining the centres of the sun and of the earth. In this supposition the observers would not see Venus projected on the same spot of this disk. One would see it projected at A, the other at B, and the two triangles E V E', A V B, formed by the visual rays intersecting at V, would be similar. Now A B and E E' are in the same ratio as B V and E V; that is, as stated before, approximately in the ratio of 0.72 and (1 — 0.72) or $\frac{0.72}{0.28} = 2.7$. Consequently, if we can measure from the earth the angle under which A B is seen, then, by dividing it by 2.7, we shall have the angle under which E E' is seen from the sun, or twice the sun's parallax.

But the difficulty is, how can we measure this angle? The observer at E sees Venus passing over the chord R S; the one at E' over P O. But since each of these chords can be considered par-

allel to the plane of the ecliptic, the line A B, perpendicular to that plane, measures their distance. If, then, we can find the exact position of those two chords on the apparent disk of the sun, we can determine the distance A B in relation to the sun's apparent diameter, which subtends an angle of about 32 minutes. This gives us the means of knowing the angle under which A B is seen from the earth. During the last century the exact position of R S and P O was thus determined by a measure of time, and it is owing to this fact that the *method of position* was also called Halley's method. In the present case, the time to be measured being that which the planet apparently takes to traverse the chords P O and R S, the observers at E and E′ note the exact intervals between the ingress and the egress of the planet, or, in other words, the precise moments at which the supposed dot V begins and ceases to pass over the solar disk. Knowing the rate of Venus's apparent motion, from the above result, we can find the arc subtended by the chords P O and R S, and consequently their relative distances from the sun's centre. The length A B is the difference of these two distances.

This was the only method available during the last century to find the angle under which A B is seen from the earth. Now we possess another entirely unknown to our ancestors. This consists in taking, at the different stations, several photographs of the sun's disk while the planet is in transit. From these photographs we can determine the path described by Venus, and, consequently, we can also determine the chords P O and R S. In addition to this method, which was employed by astronomers during the transit of 1874, we have also the heliometric one, and to this allusion will be made presently.

In reality the two chords, P O and R S, are by no means as far distant from each other as one might be inclined to conclude from the diagram. It is well known that the solar parallax is not far from 8.83″, and, therefore, the diameter of the earth seen from the sun is about 17.66″. It consequently follows that the apparent magnitude of the distance between P O and R S, as seen from the earth,—which is obtained, as we have seen, by multiplying 17.66″ by 2.7,—is nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a minute, or $\frac{1}{42}$ part of the sun's diameter. It is evident from this that the position of the chords, which are generally on the same side of the sun's centre, must have a very great influence on the exactness of the result. The nearer these chords are to the centre of the sun the greater is the difficulty of observation, because, in such cases, their lengths differ very little, while if the chords are far distant from the centre their difference in length can easily be detected.

Here we may notice in passing that all the transits are not

equally favorable for the purpose; happily, that of 1882 will be especially advantageous, as was also that of 1874.

We must also remark that, according to our hypothesis, the two observers were placed at the extremities of the same diameter of the earth, perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic. It is not necessary, however, that it should be so, for even if the places of observation were situated on a chord, provided it be perpendicular to the ecliptic, we could find under what angle this chord would be seen from the sun, and hence pass to the solar parallax. Neither is it necessary that the places should be on the same chord perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic. If the position of the stations is definitely known, and they differ sufficiently in longitude, by making a few reductions the observations there taken can be readily utilized. When more than two stations work together, the results are more correct. It will be noticed that in the explanation we supposed the planet to be reduced to a point. This was only to render matters more simple. But since Venus has an apparent diameter, the duration of the transit is not what it would be in the above supposition. In order to pass from the observation of contacts, if the internal ones are observed, to the length of the chords, we have to diminish the apparent diameter of the solar disk by a quantity equal to the diameter of the planet, as every one will perceive with a little consideration.

In 1761, a generation after Halley's death, his method was employed for the first time together with that of Delisle, most of the observers preferring the latter. Astronomers of the principal European nations—England, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia—had a chance to observe the transit in their own countries, and, besides, many expeditions were sent to stations in southern and extreme northern latitudes. English astronomers went to St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, Madras, and Calcutta; the French were stationed at Tobolsk (Siberia), Rodrigues (near Mauritius), and Pondicherry; while Russia chose the confines of Tartary and China, and Sweden Lapland. No less than 117 stations were occupied by 176 observers, and of these over one hundred published their observations, not a few being prevented from taking them either by bad weather or by not reaching their destinations in time. Remarkable was the misfortune of the eminent Le Gentil, sent by the French Academy to observe the transit in the East Indies, who was unable to reach his station owing to the war with England. "Finding the first port he attempted to reach in the possession of the English, his commander attempted to make another, and, meeting with unfavorable winds, was still at sea on the day of the transit. He, thereupon, formed the resolution of remaining, with his instruments, to observe the transit of 1769. He was enabled to

support himself by some successful mercantile adventures, and he also industriously devoted himself to scientific observations and inquiries. The long-looked-for morning of June 4th, 1769, found him thoroughly prepared to make the observations for which he had waited eight long years. The sun shone out in a cloudless sky, as it had shone for a number of days previously, but just as it was time for the transit to begin a sudden storm arose and the sky became covered with clouds. When they cleared away the transit was over. It was two weeks before the ill-fated astronomer could hold the pen which was to tell his friends in Paris the story of his disappointment."

The observations taken on the occasion of the transit of 1761 presented not a little discord on account of the apparent distortion of the planet at the moment of contact. This difficulty, unforeseen then, was studied very accurately later on, and has been discovered to come from irradiation. It is found that Venus, and the same must be said of Mercury at the time of its transit, when she has entered almost completely within the sun's disk, does not retain her round aspect, but becomes pear-shaped, or at least connected with the sun's limb by a "black drop" or "ligament," a phenomenon which renders the determination of the exact time of contact very doubtful. As to the cause of the occurrence of this "black drop" there has been much discussion. Lalande ascribed it to irradiation, that curious phenomenon in virtue of which a star or any bright object appears larger than it really is; in this way the sun's diameter seems to be increased, and the sun's light encroaches upon the disk of the planet and makes it appear smaller than it is in reality. But at the moment when Venus and the sun have their edges almost in contact, the sun's light does not diminish the size of the planet on that side of its diameter, and consequently it appears to be longer. Others attribute it to other causes, which, at least, partially influence its appearance. The condition of the atmosphere and the perfection of the instruments used have great influence, and besides there is a factor coming from the perfection of the observer's eye and his practice, so that it may happen that several observers looking at the same time see it in very different ways.

This difficulty, and others, rendered the mass of observations so doubtful, that the results of the first calculations were very discordant, but it did not prevent preparations for the second transit of the eighteenth century. As astronomers fancied that most of the uncertainty was due to the use of Delisle's method, they decided to follow principally Halley's, or rather, that of position. The conditions of the transit of 1769 were carefully discussed, and as it was found that its duration was to be greatest in Lapland and Kamt-

chatka, and the least in the Pacific Ocean and on the Western coast of our continent, expeditions were sent especially by France, England, and Denmark, to these as well as to other most desirable localities. The ingress of Venus on the sun's limb was visible in Western Europe, hence a number of observations were made especially in France and Spain. The commencement was also visible in America, in the Eastern and Middle States, and was observed for the first time in our country by different parties, among whom was the celebrated Rittenhouse, stationed at Norristown, Pa. The data obtained in 1769 were much more concordant than those of 1761, but, strange to say, complete results were not published till half a century later. In 1824 Encke, the German astronomer, after a profound discussion, gave as his results of the parallax 8.5776″, but in 1835, examining over again the question, corrected his result to 8.59″, which would correspond to a distance of the sun from the earth, in round numbers, of over 95,000,000 of miles. As can be seen in all astronomical works published for several years after this date, this result was accepted by all. The first who threw doubt on it was Hansen, who, in 1854, completing his investigations on the motion of the moon—the parallactic equation of the moon—found that the result obtained by experiment could not be accounted for, except by admitting this distance to be too great. The existence of the error has since been confirmed in several ways by the calculations of Leverrier, Stone, Newcomb, and others, but any allusion to these would bring us too far from our subject. We may, however, outline briefly the confirmation which has come from an unexpected source,—the direct observation of the velocity of light, a method which is as ingenious as it is simple in its principles.

The velocity of light, as is well known, was determined long ago by two astronomical methods, the observation of the eclipse of Jupiter's satellite, and that of the aberration of the stars. When the earth is in conjunction, that is, in the part of its orb nearest to Jupiter, the eclipse occurs earlier than the predicted time, when, on the other hand, it is in the more remote part or at the opposition, the eclipse occurs later than the time computed from theory. As first proposed by Römer, the well-known Danish astronomer, this discordance could only be explained by assuming that light is not propagated instantaneously, but on the contrary occupies some time in passing through space. Now it is found in this way that light occupies a few seconds over sixteen minutes, or nearly one thousand seconds, in travelling the diameter of the earth's orbit. Assuming that this diameter is 190,000,000 of miles, as stated by Encke, light would traverse space with a velocity of about 190,000 miles in a second. The other method, in which the aberration of

the stars is considered, from the same assumption that the solar distance is 95,000,000, is deduced a similar result, giving to light a velocity, per second, of about 192,000 miles.

For a very long time these were the only methods proposed to find the velocity of light, but all are familiar with the fact that Foucault, by applying the Wheatstone method of revolving mirrors, some forty years ago, first made on our globe an estimate of the velocity of light; a method which has been lately repeated with the utmost precision at our Naval Observatory at Washington. By this method, as well as by that proposed by Fizeau, which latter has been more accurately repeated by Cornu in France, and Michelson, U.S.N., at Annapolis, it has been found that the velocity of light is less than that deduced by the two astronomical methods. Hence it follows that the assumed distance of the earth from the sun, the distance deduced from Encke's parallax, which is the starting-point of the calculations taken in these methods, is too great a quantity.

From this will readily be understood and explained the interest that the transits of Venus of 1874 and 1882 were destined to excite in the scientific world, an interest which was increased by the consideration that while most astronomical observations are now made with a precision that astronomers of a century ago never thought possible, yet this particular one of the internal contact of the planet with the limb of the sun has never been made with anything like the accuracy which Halley, two centuries ago, supposed attainable in this case. Plans of observation began to be prepared very far in advance. In 1867, the Astronomer Royal, Airy, sketched a general plan of observation, and indicated the regions where the transit could be observed; and in 1870, he had already prepared the huts which the English astronomers were to occupy four years later. In 1869, also, the Prussian and Russian Governments appointed commissioners to devise plans of operation—the latter preparing several stations in Siberia. France, too, though at the time drained by the great losses incurred on account of the war, still did not neglect to co-operate; and it is gratifying to us to mention briefly what our astronomers did on this occasion.

First, all the places of observation were chosen after a suitable discussion of the chances of fair weather for the 8th of December (Washington time). As on our continent the transit was wholly invisible,—just the reverse of what will happen next December,—the stations chosen were all placed in foreign countries. In the Northern hemisphere, Professor A. Hall, U.S.N., was sent to Wladiwostok, Siberia; the late Professor J. C. Watson, to Pekin, China; Professor G. Davidson to Nagasaki, Japan; the southern stations were at Kerguelen Island, with Commander G. P. Ryan, U.S.N.,

as chief of the expedition; at Queenstown, New Zealand, Professor C. H. Peters; at Campbelltown, Tasmania, Captain C. W. Raymond, U.S.A.; and at Chatham Island, Professor W. Harkness, U.S.N. One special feature was noticeable in this preparation. The greatest care was taken to train the observers, and they were prepared both for the contact, and the photographic observations, which were made by a method preferable to that used by astronomers of other countries. For the former, the training consisted chiefly in observing an artificial transit, or a round black body which moved in front of a white disk, at a distance of over half a mile, at the rate at which Venus moves in front of the sun. Thus observers were prepared for the phenomenon of the distortion of the planet or "black drop." For the photographic observations, all parties were furnished with similar apparatus, in order to have perfectly comparable results. Each observer practiced with the instruments that he was to use at the transit, employing them in the manner that was to be followed at the stations.

Photographs were taken in this way many times by the photographers accompanying each expedition, which, beside these, had a chief of party directing every detail, and an assistant astronomer. The English and other astronomers also prepared themselves in a similar way, but their method was to photograph the sun directly by the photo-heliograph, consisting essentially of a camera obscura attached to a telescope mounted as an equatorial; while the Americans used a very long fixed horizontal telescope into which the sun's rays were reflected by a heliostat, the mirror of which was formed by a simple unsilvered glass.

The great advantage of the photographic method is, that the photographs can be measured at leisure, and thus, from many of them, the exact position of the planet on the solar disk can be deduced. But when European astronomers came to the practical work of their measurements, it was found that they were more discordant than had been expected. The photographs, when magnified by a microscope, lost entirely the well-defined appearance they possessed when looked at with the naked eye. It was, therefore, impossible to make very reliable measurements of the distance of the sun's and the planet's centres, as has been stated with regard to the English photographs of 1874, by the Astronomer Royal himself. The issue seems to have been the same with the German and French photographic observations. Concerning the American photographs, Professor Harkness in his late address to the American Science Association asserts that, after several trials, having at last chosen a microscope whose magnifying power was in proportion to that of the photographing apparatus, they have

given exactly the position of the planet on the sun's disk, from which, as we have mentioned, the solar parallax can be deduced.

In 1874, to determine this exact position, together with photography, the heliometric method was used with success by the German and Russian astronomers, though not by the American nor by the English, except in the private expedition of Lord Lindsay. To indicate briefly the method we must first describe the heliometer. This is a telescope whose object-glass is divided into halves along a diameter. When these two halves are exactly in the same position as they were before the glass was cut, they give, of course, a single image of the object, or, to be more precise, two images which are perfectly superimposed; for, from the nature of astronomical telescopes, each part of the object-glass gives a complete and perfect image of the whole object. But if, without separating the straight edges of the glass, one be made to slide along the other, the two images do not coincide any longer. Thus, if we are looking at a planet or at the sun, we see two overlapping disks, which may be separated or rendered tangent by moving a screw attached to one part of the object-glass. Now, if we measure how far the half lens has been advanced, or what the angle is that the optic axes of the two halves make, we can determine the apparent diameter of the body examined. And this method can be rendered still more exact by moving the half lens to one side, so as to render the two disks tangent; then, by bringing it back and arranging the position of coincidence so as to have the contact on the other side. By this means the entire angular space traversed by the half-lens will measure twice the apparent diameter of the object, and all instrumental errors can thus, in a great measure, be avoided. Now the heliometer can be used to determine the position of Venus at any given moment upon the solar disk. For this purpose, the observer has only to apply it to measure the distance of the planet from the opposite limbs of the sun.

In 1874 all the methods were used, and the different governments spared no expense which might serve to render the observations successful, so that those unacquainted with the importance of the problem at issue must have been at a loss to understand why such costly expeditions were set on foot. Great progress has no doubt been made, but complete returns of all the observations have not as yet been given; the Americans in particular have not published the results of their observations made eight years ago.

The only partial results which, to our knowledge, have thus far been published, are those calculated in 1875 by Mr. Puiseux, a member of the French Academy of Sciences. They were deduced from the French observations taken at Pekin and at St. Paul's Island, and lead to 8.88″ as parallax. In 1877 the Astronomer

Royal published the result obtained by a reduction of some of the English observations, of those, namely, which could be considered as a whole by themselves, some being unavailable except in connection with those of other observers. The result arrived at is remarkably low, giving as parallax 8.76″; but Mr. E. S. Stone, starting from the same observations, but proceeding in a different way with his calculations, deduced the value 8.88″, the same as that of Mr. Puiseux. This difference of results makes astronomers the more anxious to see the observations of the present year fully successful. Moreover, the delay of the Americans, and of other astronomers—a delay fully justifiable, since at the meeting of the International Astronomical Society, held in Leyden, it was voted that the publication of partial results should be discouraged as injurious to science—has still further excited the interest of scientists, and aroused them to fresh efforts. Not only are different nations preparing for the observations, but an International Conference on the subject was held in Paris, from the 5th to the 13th of October last. "Representatives of fourteen nationalities were present at the Conference, but regret was expressed that the United States had no delegate present. Russia also was unrepresented, but it has been understood that the government of that country does not propose to organize expeditions beyond the limits of the empire. . . . . The president of the Conference, Mr. Dumas, perpetual secretary of the French Academy, pointed out the great utility of co-operative arrangements of different nations for the observations of the transit, and directed special attention to the desirability of coming to some definite conclusion as to the employment or otherwise of photography on that occasion. In the discussion which followed, Professor Foerster announced that the German commission had resolved not to employ photography in 1882, and Mr. E. Stone, the Radcliffe observer, directing astronomer of the British Commission, which he represented at the Conference, stated that it was not seriously intended to introduce photography in the observations of 1882, remarking that the French results from this method were not encouraging, and the American results had not been published in time to allow of a due discussion before the British Commission." In regard to the American photographs, we would here recall what we before remarked, that the results they gave were perfectly satisfactory.

One of the principal points under discussion, was as to the selection of suitable places for observations on the part of the different nations in both hemispheres. The choice of positions for December next is a very wide one, since the transit will be at least partially visible throughout more than half of this country; unlike the last one of 1874. The coming transit will be entirely visible in

Canada, in all of the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States, in Central and South America. In California and some of the Northwestern territories, in nearly all the islands of the Pacific, in New Zealand and the western part of Australia the end only will be visible, while only the commencement will be seen in Newfoundland, in the western half of Europe, comprising England, France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, and also in the north of Africa, with the adjacent islands.

No doubt in all regular observatories situated where the transit is visible, very careful observations will be taken, and this may explain the seeming neglect of the Americans in making preparations, since no better stations could be had than the numerous observatories throughout the country. Still American expeditions are to be sent to places beyond the limits of our territories. Of the stations in the Southern hemisphere, two will be in South America, one in South Africa, and one in New Zealand. The southernmost of the South American stations is to be at Port Santa Cruz, on the east coast of Patagonia, in 50° of south latitude. The other South American station will be at Santiago, in Chili, or at some point in the interior. The exact locations of the stations in Cape Colony and New Zealand have not been fixed, but will depend upon the weather probabilities as learned by the observers after their arrival. The principal stations in the United States will be Cedar Keys, Fla.; San Antonio, Texas; and Fort Thorn, New Mexico, besides the Washington and other regular observatories.

European astronomers must, for the most part, proceed to foreign countries, as ours did in 1874. There are to be many expeditions, and it is believed that never were there so many stations established as there will be in December. France, Germany, and England take the lead in the number of their expeditions, the last-named nation having stations at Bermuda, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Cape Colony, in Madagascar, New Zealand, Falkland Islands, besides those of the Australian observatories. In this country Germany will have stations at Hartford, Conn., and Aiken, S. C.; France, one in Florida, one at Martinique, one in Mexico; and Belgium, one in Texas.

So many joint efforts will, no doubt, kind Providence favoring, lead to a more definite result. Unhappily at many stations, observations will surely fail on account of unfavorable weather or unforeseen difficulties, but the very large number of stations, the skill of the observers, not a few of whom witnessed the transit of 1874, the perfection of the instruments, and the care brought to the observations, cause us to expect much better results. The American observers will depend chiefly upon photography, the German upon the heliometer, and the French, English, and Belgians, upon con-

tact. As far as we know at present from all the methods used, the equatorial horizontal parallax is comprised between 8.76″ and 8.88″, the most probable measurement being about 8.83″, which corresponds to a distance of 92,570,000 miles from the sun to the earth, with a very small possible error. After some years we shall know this distance with greater approximation. But this will not be the only advantage of the present efforts. Where so many powerful minds are engaged in so noble a work, we may hope that more ingenious and perfect methods will be thought of; and as the ingenuity of astronomers has found nearly a dozen methods for solving the problems of the solar distance in spite of difficulties which were looked upon for ages as insurmountable, so they may be equally fortunate in dealing with a grander and wider problem, and one much more important also,—the calculation of the distance of the stars and of the dimensions of the universe.

ENGLAND'S LATEST CONQUEST.

"THE land with the winged cymbal," as the prophet so graphically styles it, is still expecting, expecting. The symbol which has become so familiar to us as characteristic of that land, looks down once more from almost prehistoric monuments, on plains where Assyrian and Persian, Greek and Roman, Crusader and Moslem, have contended for the mastery of the world, and yet her own Sphinx never propounded a riddle more difficult of solution than the future of Egypt at the present time. A dynasty of vassal rulers, founded by the sword, was about to perish ingloriously by the sword, without leaving on the monument-studded valley of the Nile a single moral, civil, or architectural work to commemorate its existence. For a term the sword of a stranger upholds the tottering dynasty.

Mehemet Ali, a man of energy and ability, had built a power in Egypt, and developed the resources of the country, so that his mind was filled with schemes of conquest. Disdaining longer to be a mere ruler of a province, he aspired, if not to the Khalifate, at least to the dominion over most of the Sultan's territory. The arms of Christian Europe checked his advance on Syria and rolled back the tide of conquest; but he wrung from the Sultan the recognition of almost absolute independence for Egypt, and the

hereditary rulership in his own family. The Khedive of Egypt became a recognized power, treating with foreign nations, exercising complete authority in the land of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, and bearing as lightly the nominal collar of vassalage to the Sultan, as the Emperor of Morocco. But the power acquired by Mehemet Ali descended without his ability to exercise it. The love of pleasure, of show, and ostentation, enfeebled the new dynasty; nothing was done to develop the resources of the new state, to deliver the wretched peasantry, the fellaheen, from the oppression under which they had groaned for centuries, and which rendered them hopeless toilers, with no incentive to improvement. The country, rich in itself, was poverty stricken; the money wrung from the fellaheen went to enrich a caste, the greedy and unpatriotic Turkish party, so that ere long the Khedive and his government began to feel the pressure of want. A national debt, swelling from year to year, appeared on the bourses of Europe, and sold at any ruinous rate to obtain momentary relief, soon brought Egypt to bankruptcy. Then in the days of Ismael Pasha came foreign intervention, and the Khedive was forced to take a representative of England and a representative of France into his ministry, and to render the financial management of affairs subject to their action. The Khedive was restive under this restraint, and soon struck a blow at this tutelage, by dismissing his Prime Minister, Nubar Pasha. The two powers then insisted that their representatives should have a joint veto on any step they disapproved, and, though the Khedive yielded, he was emboldened by success, and in less than two months dismissed both those ministers in the most contemptuous manner. France proposed armed intervention, but England hesitated. The Khedive, surrounded by extravagant Pashas of the Turkish party, began a new career of exaction and extortion. The Sultan, anxious to make a show of power, offered to depose him, but France and England gave no assent. Ismael Pasha was, apparently, completely master of the situation, when, unexpectedly, Germany, which had but trivial interests in Egypt, declared that the Khedive must not be allowed to destroy those interests. The Sultan, as agent of the powers, deposed Ismael Pasha, while he was vacillating about a voluntary abdication. Prince Tewfik assumed the guidance of the destinies of Egypt as the nominee of the Porte, but really not by the Sultan's choice.

England and France had punished Ismael for dismissing their representatives in his ministry, yet strangely enough, they did not insist on their being admitted to the ministry of the new Khedive. Two controllers were appointed, who were to be irremovable; but even in their hands, owing to a host of complications and legal difficulties and quibbles, the finances of Egypt were soon in a most un-

satisfactory state. Although the Khedive was honest and sincere, discontent spread. The Turkish party, court favorites, wealthy Turks, or others, who, by official means, have acquired wealth, ever and forever the instruments of oppression and exaction, these notables began to plot, encouraged by Constantinople. The army began to show discontent. The higher officers, trained by American generals, conceived themselves masters of the modern art of war, men destined to lead the Moslem hosts to victory. To them Tewfik was not their ideal ruler. A revolt of the army made the Khedive really a prisoner, and Arabi Pasha, the most prominent of the colonels who began the revolt, was soon the ruling spirit of the ministry. The reforms initiated were to be checked; the old influence of the Turkish party, the oppressors of the real native population, was to be upheld, and to blind the outside world they assumed to represent the native population. They represent it in the sense that the landlords and police in Ireland represent the people of Ireland. So far from being a national party, they represent the very element that has kept the peasantry, the fellaheen, in a state of poverty and insecurity, deprived them of all incitement to progress, improvement, industry, or thrift.

The revolt of February, 1881, revealed a new danger, and placed at the disposal of the Turkish party the whole power of the army, such as it was. The joint Anglo-French control had sought to establish fair and honest government, and the movement was a direct blow at it. The Khedive became powerless, and things drifted from bad to worse, all showing that the Anglo-French interposition had proved an absolute failure.

The whole country was leavened with anti-European feeling, and Arabi and his followers were evidently exciting, through the ministry of religious fanatics, the dormant Moslem hatred of Christians. This soon had a terrible exposition. Alexandria of recent years had become a centre of European trade. It had a fine quarter built up in modern style, where people of all Christian nations lived in fancied security. On the 11th of June, 1882, the quarter was suddenly startled. The wilder Arab population of the city and neighborhood, egged on by Moslem fanatics, and joined by the miscellaneous horde of the dregs of the city populace, began its work of murder, pillage, and arson, in the elegant homes of the European quarter. The streets ran with blood, the flames were soon roaring and spreading from house to house, and the affrighted inmates rushed from death by fire to meet the bullet or the steel of Arabi's tools on the street. Some fought their way to the shipping in the harbor; some barricaded themselves in their banks or solid buildings, and defied the howling mob.

As the telegraph flashed the terrible news around the globe, war

vessels of England and France,—the self-constituted guardians of Egypt,—of Italy, and America, steamed to Alexandria. The Khedive, too, hastened to the city, and took up his residence at his palace of Ras el Tin. Arabi too was there, exulting at the progress of events, and dreaming of his coming rule as sovereign. But the men-of-war, with their cannon bearing on the town, were a menace, and he met it by throwing up fortifications. It was for England and France to act. France had hitherto taken the lead in Egyptian matters, now she hung back. England had hesitated before, now there was no vacillating. A new element had entered into the Egyptian question. This was the Suez Canal.

Conceived and carried out by France, England had found it a duty to acquire control of the land. Once accomplished, the building and successful use of the canal had in some sense changed the world. England had her fleet of swift ocean steamers bearing her sons to and from India by the route of Vasco de Gama, a voyage of thirteen thousand miles. Here was a highway by which nearly half the distance was saved. Actually one week is gained in time, and two can easily be gained.

The Suez Canal is the pathway to India, and England must either control or close it. She cannot allow any power, be it the Czar of all the Russias or a rebel colonel in Egypt, to bar her way through that new ocean channel—a highway of the sea as much as the Mediterranean or that where Pharaoh's hosts lie whitening.

France's interests in the East are of less magnitude, yet her possessions in Cochin China, her growing empire there, which seeks to absorb Anam and Laos, and to which Siam has long paid respectful homage, should have made her alert; she should have seen the importance of Egypt and of the canal as a means of communication. Under Bourbon or Bonaparte her interests would have been seen and guarded. The Republic, which gave up the Bourbon conquests to Germany, was blind to France's interests in the East.

England asked her to co-operate in compelling Arabi to suspend his hostile demonstrations. France refused. Her Chambers refused to pass the credit, to appropriate means for a French expedition to Egypt, evidently regarding intervention as the prelude to a long and protracted struggle.

The English admiral has been censured for taking any active measures till he had an army to land and follow up a bombardment; yet all depended on his immediate action. England was, for the moment, free to strike, and, looking only to her own interests, her policy was to strike.

Admiral Seymour demanded the suspension of the fortifications, and on Arabi's refusal, after due notification, to allow non-combat-

ants to withdraw, he opened fire. The boats had scarcely borne the last of the European and American residents to the shipping in the harbor, when Seymour, on the 11th of July, the month's mind of the victims of the massacre, began the bombardment. All that ingenuity in naval architecture and marine ordnance has achieved in a score of years was to be tried against the rude earthworks of the Egyptian colonel, trained in the school of our American General Stone.

It was something to defy the power of England, and, wherever the iron has entered the soul of the oppressed, driven by the hand of that government, which talks most of freedom and practices more tyranny than the world has ever seen,—from India, Africa, Ireland,—sympathy went forth to Arabi; not that his course was right or his cause just, but that every blow struck at the selfish hypocrisy of that tyrant and hypocrite land was a gain for humanity.

The terrible cannonade silenced the forts. Arabi retreated, leaving Alexandria to a rabble whom he instigated to complete the work of June, and even to murder his master, the Khedive. When, after a day's delay, the English marines landed, the city was in flames; rapine, murder, and arson reigned. With the forces at his command Seymour checked the conflagration, stopped the plundering, and punished all caught in the act of robbery or incendiarism.

France, meanwhile, had called for a European conference to settle the affairs of Egypt, and thus virtually withdrew from all direct intervention in a land where she had so long exerted her influence. This unwise step left England master of the whole work of restoring the Khedive to power. It is not easy to understand this change of policy in France. Apparently misled by De Lesseps and other Frenchmen in Egypt, the government at Paris overrated immensely the power of Arabi and the hold he seemed to possess over the native population in Egypt; even De Lesseps, who first figures in history as a marplot, a wretched, little, mischief-making diplomatist, seems to have been true to his nature in his whole conduct in Egypt, and to have done all in his power to exclude France and rivet firmly on Egypt the fetters of an English protectorate.

The Conference of the Powers met at Constantinople, and, as usual, discussions dragged on. England, represented by the shrewd, trained diplomatist, Dufferin, insisted that the Sultan should proclaim Arabi a rebel. This would be a blow to his influence with every good Mussulman. The Porte temporized; it could scarcely be expected to stigmatize as a rebel and enemy of the Moslem faith, a man on whom the Sultan had just conferred

the Order of the Medjidié. Dufferin skilfully protracted the discussion. He urged the sending of a Turkish army to aid in restoring the Khedive to his rightful authority, but insisted on the prior step of proclaiming Arabi a rebel. Then the question arose whether the Turkish army was to be under the supreme commander of the English general-in-chief in Egypt or was to act independently. The Anglo-Turkish Convention was discussed and discussed, but no troops went.

Meanwhile England, conscious of all she had at stake, with the great Powers all in check, and not one, except Turkey, showing any disposition to intervene in Egypt, hastened the transport of troops to Alexandria. The Coldstream Guards, the Household Troops, the Black Watch of Edinburgh, with regiments that had won recent laurels in other lands, were on their way as fast as steam could bear them, and the command of the expedition was confided to her only brilliant general, Sir Garnet Wolseley. A man of resource, a trained soldier, a general who plans carefully and acts coolly, he had made his mark in Manitoba, Ashantee, and in the Zululand. The task before him seemed much greater than any he had undertaken, and the numbers, efficiency, and valor of the Egyptian army were vaunted on every side. Wolseley seemed to act with indecision. Arabi had taken up a strong position at Kafr-el-Dwar, near Alexandria, and Wolseley made reconnoissances and brought on skirmishes at Mahuta, Meks, and Ramleh. The Egyptian general seemed too strong to attack.

Suddenly, however, he embarked most of his force, giving no clue as to his destination. It was Aboukir or Damietta, according to many, but, on the 20th of August, he occupied Port Said, and the English men-of-war entered the canal. De Lesseps, who had kept up the closest correspondence with Arabi and identified himself with his cause, was wild with excitement. He expanded till he was, in his own eyes, one of the great Powers of Europe. Treating his protests and his vehemence with the utmost indifference, Wolseley pushed on and, on the 24th, occupied Ismailia as the base of his operations. The next day he captured Ramses, where Rameses once had a magnificent palace, and where, in later times, when the temple of Jerusalem was profaned by heathen rites, the High Priest Onias reared a temple to the living God, in which the sacrifices of the law were offered.

Leaving this historic spot behind, dragging cannon through a sandy desert, he occupied Kassassin. Arabi Bey saw the toils gather around him. He hurled his Bedouins on Kassassin to crush the advance there; a few days later he again engaged the English, and on the 9th of September, repulsed in an important engagement, he fell back to his intrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir.

Wolseley made all his preparations for the final attack, carefully and judiciously. The army moved by night on Tel-el-Kebir, entirely unnoticed by Arabi, who seems to have taken no steps to watch the English movements. Halting to sleep for two hours in the sandhills, at five in the morning Wolseley's forces moved on Tel-el-Kebir. The Egyptians at last discovered that their foe was upon them, and opened fire with their seventy guns and twenty thousand rifles. But they were taken by surprise, and the wild fire did little execution on the grim soldiery who moved steadily on without firing. Then with a rush the Highland Brigade and the Royal Irish dashed into the entrenchments, the Scots for a time checked by the stubborn resistance of the Egyptians, but the battle lasted only twenty minutes; and as the cavalry struck their right and the troops from India the left of the Egyptian line, Arabi's whole army was annihilated. More than a thousand fell, thrice as many surrendered; the rest fled in all directions shattered into mobs, cut down in hundreds, charged, dispersed, and slaughtered by cavalry. The entrenchments were captured with all the war material. Without losing a moment the cavalry seized Belbeis, the Indian Contingent Zagazig, and Sir Garnet advanced on Cairo, to which Arabi Bey, hooted by the people, had fled on a special train. When Wolseley reached Benha he learned that Arabi was in the hands of the Cairo police. Cairo was immediately occupied; the Khedive, but yesterday deserted in Ras-el-Tin by official and subject, now escorted by his deliverers entered Cairo in triumph with the victorious General, and is surrounded by professions of loyalty. Thus, within forty-eight hours after the march began on Tel-el-Kebir, the war was ended. The Egyptian troops at Cairo, Kafr-el-Dwar hastened to make submission. Aboukir and Damietta, after a little show of resistance, yielded also.

The sage debaters at Constantinople were left stranded in their discussions. Lord Dufferin intimated that it was useless to say anything more about an Anglo-Turkish convention, as the war was over and the Khedive's authority restored.

France must feel deeply mortified that she had not by a two months' campaign upheld her old influence in Egypt. The Porte has lost her last opportunity of making her power there real when it has long been nominal. Now, when all is over, they see how weak was the strength they had overrated, and how easily the whole thing was accomplished.

Now comes up the great question: What is to be done with Egypt?

England is in Egypt, and as the pathway to India England must be sure of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. France, with Asiatic interests, has virtually renounced all intention of further interfer-

ence in Egypt; Italy, Germany, Russia, have but slight interests in Egypt, and no colonies in Asia to which the canal is the route De Lesseps, with short-sighted folly, has forced the question to an immediate decision,—England must remain virtually as warden of the Suez Canal. No power will go to war to dispute her right. Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez are now garrisoned by English troops, and will in all probability remain in their hands under a general authority of the Powers, who will make the canal an open seaway.

The Khedive is restored to power by British arms, and for many a day must be upheld there till a new government is reorganized and the people so roused to support it, that foreign military force will not be needed. The Turkish party is broken, and as the Khedive will not be disposed to allow it to recover its influence, it will soon vanish. The army is gone. Two bad elements are thus eliminated, and Tewfik has a grand opportunity to make himself the head of the real people of Egypt. His dependence on Turkey is virtually gone. His real suzerain is now the ruler of England.

England cannot forego the advantage she has gained or allow any other state to intervene. She must keep up a force in Egypt and a fleet in its waters. All this entails new and increased expenditures without any immediate return, a position of affairs that her people never enjoy very heartily. Her conquest brings no additional resources, or territory or trade to England or to India. It will be a heavy drain, and be one more place to defend against emergencies. She acquires no new territory, simply trouble and difficulty. The expenses of her expedition must be paid by Egypt, but there is no part of her territory which England covets.

Russia will doubtless make the new influence the basis for a claim to new territory. It has been the belief of many that the Sultan would soon evacuate Europe and withdraw to Asia Minor. The recent escape from Constantinople of the great Kurdish sheik who, as a friend of Russia, was held in captivity, menaces trouble to the Porte, and may be the first scene of a revolt which will terminate in adding a new territory to Russia's power on the Black Sea. This will excite no alarm in Europe, and can be acquired and held without a Plevna or a Sebastopol. England from the Red Sea will watch against too near an approach to Syria. The Asiatic dominions of the Sultan seem most threatened, and they may melt away.

From every point of view the brilliant campaign of England in the land of the turbid river seems barren of substantial advantages, and rich only in increased responsibilities and obligations, from which she may soon seek to be relieved, but from which there is no escape so long as the Suez Canal remains open.

In the reconstruction of Egypt which in a manner devolves upon her, she will be sharply criticised, and lay herself open to the

claims of bondholders in other countries, whose interests their respective governments will espouse. They will insist on their pound of flesh, though it must be cut from the very heart of Egypt. If England could take some rich province to satisfy her bonds and outlay, the question would be simplified, but there is none. Money must be raised, and to secure a stable government taxes must be diminished, and prosperity created. The unjust exemption of foreigners from taxation will vanish. They too must bear their share in the public burdens. The useless and dangerous but expensive army will give way to a well-organized gendarmerie; and the leaders of the Turkish party, all implicated in Arabi's revolt, may be compelled to disgorge the millions they have wrung from the people and withheld from the Khedive.

England needs too her skilful diplomacy in Constantinople, to induce the outwitted Sultan to lend his sanction to the new organization of Egypt.

Victoria has conquered Egypt, but cannot consider herself the successor of Cleopatra.

IRISH CRIME AND ITS CAUSES.

Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. to Cardinal McCabe and the Bishops of Ireland.

A Political Tour in Ireland. From the London *Times.*

Report of the Proceedings of the British Social Science Association.

THERE seems at present to be a lull in Irish affairs, and matters, on the whole, are progressing favorably—much more favorably than might have been expected after the "Treaty of Kilmainham" was answered by the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Bourke. This peculiarly atrocious and un-Irish deed threatened, for a time, to destroy all prospects of peace between the English and Irish peoples. The very man who went with peace in his hand was, together with his chief assistant, cut down almost at the moment of his arrival. Irish murders of conspicuous personages there had been in the past, and the murderers generally escaped with impunity. All the bribes that the government could offer never induced a betrayal of the criminals. This, of itself, indicates that there is something deeper in the class of crime than a mere personal spite or desire of vengeance. In the

history of most peoples there have been times when the oppressed, despairing of law and justice, finally take the law in their own hands with the deplorable results that have been witnessed in Ireland—results against which the government was fairly warned by the representatives of the Irish people; and the government's answer was to clap those representatives in jail. It was the old story of sitting on the safety-valve.

But the murder of the two Irish Secretaries came at a crisis and with an ingenuity that was truly fiendish. The government having tried coercion—the suppression of the free voice and action of a free people—to its heart's content, though scarcely to the content of Mr. Forster, voluntarily undid its own work, proclaimed the failure of coercion as a remedy, opened the political jails, and did the only sensible thing they could do,—let out the representatives of the Irish people and invited their co-operation in laying the evil spirit that the government's own action had evoked.

What was the result? From end to end of Ireland went up a national cry of rejoicing—a cry re-echoed by that other and, in some sense, greater Ireland over here. Mr. Forster, whose working of his pet coercion had been as brutal as it was unwise, resigned his office, and a gentle, amiable man was sent to succeed him, with Earl Spencer to succeed Earl Cowper, who had been hand-in-glove with Mr. Forster in all the latter's measures for improving Ireland by the lash. Just in the very act, on the threshold of real conciliation, the messengers of peace and goodwill were slain, whether by Irishmen or not none can say to this hour. The deed was a desperate blow of desperate men at all possibility of peace between the two countries, and was deplored as deeply in the United States as in Ireland itself. Coercion was applied anew, and in harsher form than before. Other murders followed of scarcely less desperate a character, the silence of the grave covering them up and the government suspecting a sullen sympathy with them through all the land.

Happily the first feeling of revenging such crimes on the whole body of the people yielded to calmer councils. Mr. Gladstone was one of the first to acquit the Irish people of complicity with such deeds. There was a new element in them partaking of the character of Continental secret society crimes, the method of redress or overthrow of existing institutions preached and promulgated by patriots of the Mazzini and Garibaldi order, who always found honor and welcome in England, and who were made heroes of by English society. Murder followed murder in spite of all the coercion acts, the most horrible of all, and one of the most recent, being the attempted extermination of the Joyce family, in a remote district of Connemara, in a neighborhood that has been the scene

of the worst cases of agrarian murder and outrage. Five persons, three of them women, were there brutally murdered by masked men as late as the middle of August. In this case, however, it appears that the murderers will be discovered and speedily brought to justice.

There is no denying that the catalogue of crime in Ireland, within the past year alone, makes a list blacker for its intensity than it is great in number. It is only the other day that Professor Leone Levi, a famous statistician, startled the British Social Science Association, assembled at Southampton, by proving beyond question or possibility of doubt, unless figures lie very badly indeed, that, for the ten years ending 1879–1880, crimes against life and property were considerably less in Ireland than in England and Scotland. The offences that in Ireland were in excess were always of a semi-political stripe, and plainly resulting rather from the political institutions of the country than from the nature or character of the people, which really shows itself more loyal and conservative than either the English or Scotch; while as for drunkenness, which is esteemed a vice to which the Irish are especially addicted, the statistics show that the consumption of alcoholic liquors is proportionately greater in England or Scotland than in Ireland. A brief synopsis of Professor Levi's figures shows that in Ireland, during the ten years, offences against public order and justice—riots, breaches of the peace, etc.—were 1.24 per thousand; in Scotland, 5.13; and in England and Wales, 16 per thousand. Offences against morals were 0.21 per thousand in England, 0.08 in Scotland, and 0.04 in Ireland. Assaults were highest in Scotland, lowest in England, Ireland standing about midway. "Honor and prosperity," says Professor Levi, "are safest in Ireland." Mr. Sclater-Booth, M.P., who presided over the discussion, was evidently staggered, as was also the London *Times*, by the array of proportions. He closed the discussion by saying that, though "it is true that the Irish race, as a whole, in the general way, are superior to ourselves (the English), and in some very important points of morals, that should not blind us to the frightful moral obliquity in regard to the awful crime of murder which prevails in Ireland."

Every one will agree with Mr. Sclater-Booth in the main, and, as he himself says, "in the general way," but it is for statesmen and those who have the public weal and the cause of the whole human race at heart to seek out and determine, if possible, why a people that is really so superior should be so persistently disloyal to the British government, and why the great mass of their crimes runs in an anti-English direction; why, also, the centres and circles of these classes of crime should be almost fixed in their loca-

tion and radius. The scenes of agrarian crime in Ireland have been, through all these trying times, confined to the poorest localities. Where the people can live they do not molest their neighbors, or shoot landlords and agents, or shoot one another for suspected betrayal. They may join the Land League Association; they may agree to "Boycott" obnoxious parties; but they will not, in most instances, consent to crime. "Why don't you pay your rent?" was asked of a patriotic tenant-farmer. "Oh! sure, we couldn't pay it now." "Why not? You paid it regularly enough all these years, and the crop is as good as ever it was." "But, sure they tell us to pay no rent while Mr. Parnell is in jail." And then (*sotto voce*): "*May they keep him there seven years!*"

The story is a good one as illustrating a certain side of the Irish character; but, to say truth, there is not much room for laughter in the present position of Ireland, and the lull now prevailing there may mean a prelude to a new storm as much as a subsiding of the old one. It is satisfactory to know that the Land Act is, on the whole, working fairly well, and is being loyally accepted, while an exceptionally fine harvest is reported. The Land Court has had upwards of 100,000 applications before it, representing half a million of the agricultural classes. This shows how eager the people are to avail themselves of any opportunity of settling their troubles rationally and quietly under the law, if the law will only give them half a chance. While Mr. Gladstone has, on the one hand, shown a disposition to slacken the lines of the coercion measure, he has, on the other hand, urged forward, with all his power, the working of his better act. It may as well be known that Mr. Parnell believes in Mr. Gladstone's personal good faith in wishing to relieve Irish disabilities and Irish distress, which, after all, is the best policy for England; but Mr. Gladstone has to drag after him a fractious cabinet, a partially hostile Parliament, and the inert mass of the English people. The Arrears Act is also in full working order. Under it, two millions and a half pounds sterling are to be applied to relieve both classes,—landlords and tenants,—and to stop, as far as possible, evictions. It is to be hoped the government will see to it that the landlords do not get the lion's share of this relief act, and, indeed, the indications are that such a miscarriage of justice will be vigilantly guarded against.

There are rumors, not yet clearly defined, of the Land League agitation, which, having secured much good for Ireland, is now spending its force, in some measure yielding or expanding into a labor league. Illustrative of the state of labor in Ireland, and of the condition of the people generally, comes a very interesting article entitled "A Political Tour in Ireland," which was recently published in the London *Times*. The author travelled over a large

portion of the country and questioned every person he came across, from an Anglican bishop to a Catholic peasant, who might be able to furnish him with any useful information about the country and the condition of things there. He went with open and intelligent eyes, landing in Dublin, as he says, "with that large amount of ignorance of things Irish which is usual among educated Englishmen, and a receptivity of mind which was ready for a complete saturation of knowledge." The landlords staggered him by their bitter abuse of Mr. Gladstone, his Land Commission, and the Irish tenants generally. The Commissioners were altogether too sweeping in the extent of their reductions, and the Irish tenants were all idle and thriftless. He, in company with an American (suspected to be Henry George), visited the rooms of the Ladies' Land League, in Dublin, and found those active agitators carrying on a very extensive correspondence with all parts of Ireland, chiefly with a view to the relief of evicted tenants, erection of huts, etc. He there saw an immense number of writs, processes, and ejectments, until he expected hardly to find "a single inhabitant of the country who had not been 'dishomed' by some absentee landlord." One of the young ladies, a Miss Reynolds, had twice been imprisoned under the Coercion Act, her offence being "intimidation of the police." She intimidated that doughty body by telling them on one occasion that though they might take a man's cow they could not compel him to drive it, and on another she shook her head at them when witnessing an eviction.

The Protestant bishop told him that the Protestant Church in Ireland depends chiefly on landowners, and is consequently bound to stand by them—a characteristic admission. He visited Galway with his American friend, travelling through districts that were in ill repute for order. Around them was a region celebrated for "many cruel evictions on the one side and some cruel murders on the other." Here was Loughrea, where Mr. Blake was murdered and Mr. Bourke and the soldiers accompanying him were shot. Here Clifford Lloyd was administrator of the public peace. On the train to Ballinasloe he fell in with a laboring man who had gone to England for the harvest because in England he could earn four shillings a day, whereas at home he could only earn one shilling a day when work was to be procured. He was an intelligent, sober man, travelling home to Westport with a dreadfully wounded leg from a scythe cut, which he refused to have tended till he got home, in order to save the money for his wife and children. The English visitor wondered if this could be called idleness, wastefulness, or extravagance, which the landlords say make the curse of the people.

At every station where the train stopped there were police

watching all who came and went, even at the most remote stations and in peaceable districts. There are 12,000 royal constabulary alone in Ireland, and it was among this body that the revolt took place recently, leaving Dublin, Limerick, and other places without guardians of the peace for the time being. The men had certainly reason for complaint against the penny wise and pound foolish policy of the government. But to return to our travellers. Riding on to Loughrea, they drove through a rich tract of country, where they saw "scarcely a single house. The district had formerly been full of people, and was now inhabited by sheep." Ruins of houses they saw, but little else in the shape of human habitation. A herdsman, "one of those courteous and gentlemanly peasants of whom there seem to be so many specimens in Ireland," informed them that he tended for his landlord 180 acres of grass land with 100 sheep and 50 cattle. In return for this labor he was rewarded by a cottage and three acres of land rent free. Out of the three acres and the time he could spare from his charge he "managed to make a fair livelihood."

On reaching Loughrea, these two peaceable gentlemen were arrested under the Prevention of Crime Act, taken to the police barracks, searched, their papers seized and perused with much edification by the police. They were detained prisoners, without food or permission to procure any, until a magistrate could be found or spared to sit on their case, when they were finally released. They passed through other scenes of a like character, and the writer's conclusion is: "I could hardly consider that system of law and government satisfactory which had made it possible for the present state of things to arise."

"Fit to govern! no; not fit to live!" was Judge Jeremiah Black's strong arraignment of English government in Ireland, and no reasonable man will consider it too strong. What stuff the Irish people are made of is shown by the calm and sensible attitude of the people during the recent police revolt. The people governed themselves without police, and, save a little stone throwing on the part of mischievous lads, there was no outrage to mention. The Dublin Industrial Exhibition was in progress; there were many moneyed visitors from outside; the city contains a population of about 350,000. For three days and nights the police were away from their posts. Imagine the city of London, or New York, or Paris, with only an insignificant guard for twenty-four hours. Would any one of those cities pass through so trying an ordeal so calmly as Dublin did?

It must be plain to Mr. Gladstone by this time, even if he ever doubted it,—it ought to be plain to the English people,—that in Ireland it is the system of government, the absence of local self-

control, the paucity of fair chances of improvement among the people, the cruelty and exactions of the landlord class in the past, and not the people, who are bad. When men have to travel to England during harvest-time, to "raise the rent" by earning four shillings instead of one shilling a day at home, the wonder is that they are not all in revolt; and when herdsmen have to depend on three acres and a free cottage for the support of their families, while giving the labor of their lives to the landlord in return for such a pittance, a people cannot be expected to be loyal or devoted to the government. When Christians have to make way for sheep, and cattle, and grass; when they are evicted from their homes for not being able to pay rents that the Land Commission is beginning to cut down about an average of one-fourth, as fast as it can meet the cases, is it any wonder that some desperate and some wicked men go to the last resort of taking human life, and band together for the purpose of making a law unto themselves? Why have so many landlords hastened of their own accord to compromise with their tenants without the intervention of the Land Commission? What has suddenly quickened their sense of justice? The rent that to-day they hasten to remit they would have spent their reputation and, if necessary, exhausted every resource of the law in exacting a year ago.

But, as said at the opening of the article, there is at present a lull in the Irish question, which it is to be hoped Mr. Gladstone will avail himself of to push forward his remedial measures. His hands have suddenly been strengthened by the victorious close of the Egyptian campaign, where an Irish admiral commanded his fleet, an Irish general his army, while an Irish statesman was playing off the representatives of the Powers at Constantinople in order to give England time to accomplish her work alone. At least a third of England's forces, by sea or land, is composed of Irishmen. In the charge at Tel-el-Kebir, that destroyed the Egyptian force and ended what threatened to be a dangerous war for England, an Irish regiment (the Royal Irish) was especially singled out for gallantry in Sir Garnet Wolseley's dispatch. The same loyal, strong stuff out of which Irish generals, and admirals, and statesmen are made forms the rank and file, digs the potato trenches in Connemara, or charges the trenches before Sebastopol or Tel-el-Kebir. For safety's sake, for the peace and prosperity of the Empire, English statesmen and the English people should persevere in their effort to give Ireland—to give this loyal and moral people—justice at last, and a chance to live and thrive in peace and contentment in their own land. If this be not done, if this wise policy be not largely carried out, the new element, the dynamite, the diabolic element, which is essentially foreign to Ireland's name, and nature,

and to the whole character of her history, will strengthen and grow. The great mass of the people is sound in heart and soul. They only want fair play. But never again will England have to deal with the Ireland of the past. The thought of fighting England and securing national independence by force of arms has probably died out of most Irish minds, while the purpose to achieve practical independence has taken deep possession of Irish hearts. Coercion, and fleets around the coast, and armies of soldiers and police quartered on the people will never eradicate this fixed purpose. Coercion Mr. Gladstone proclaims a failure. It only fostered and added to violence and crime. "Blood hath bought blood and blows have answered blows." It is the time and opportunity for the reign of peace and goodwill to set in between these peoples. At such a juncture the wise and fatherly letter of the Holy Father to the Irish Episcopate comes with special force. Warning the Irish people to remain always the faithful Christians they have been, and standing within that ground, he tells them: "It is lawful for the Irish to seek relief in their misfortunes; it is lawful for them to contend for their rights, for it cannot be thought that what is permitted to every other country is forbidden to Ireland. Nevertheless, interest must be directed by justice, and it must be seriously considered that it is base to defend by unjust means any cause, however just." He warns the people especially against secret societies, "which, under pretext of vindicating a right, generally end in violent disturbance of the public peace." He expresses his confidence that the statesmen who preside over the administration of public affairs "will give satisfaction to the Irish when they demand what is just," and that this "not only reason advises, but also their well-known political prudence, since it cannot be doubted that the well-being of Ireland is connected with the tranquillity of the whole Empire."

BOOK NOTICES.

ELEMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW: Compiled with reference to the Syllabus, the Const, "Apostolicæ Sedis" of Pope Pius IX., the Council of the Vatican, and the latest Decisions of the Roman Congregations; adapted especially to the Discipline of the Church in the United States. By *Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D.*, formerly Professor of Canon Law, Author of "Notes," "Counter Points," etc. Vol. II. Ecclesiastical Trials. New York: Benziger Bros., 1882. Octavo, pp. 455.

The first volume of the "Elements" appeared some five years ago. In our copy (of the second edition) we find the approbation of the author's Ordinary and of the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, together with letters of commendation from many bishops. The volume reached a fourth edition, which we have never seen, but which contains, as the publishers state, the approbations of Cardinals Manning and Newman, with the Reports and Animadversions of the Roman Consultors. The second volume bears simply the approbation of the author's Ordinary, Bishop Wigger, of Newark.

We regret that the late hour at which we have received this book does not allow us sufficient time to read it with the careful attention such a work deserves. That it shows great learning and research is evident even from a cursory perusal. It shows further how much literary or theological work can be accomplished by patient toil and proper use of leisure hours even amidst the busy cares of the pastoral charge, and thereby points a useful moral to those of our clergy, who possess cultured minds and knowledge acquired by much reading. Their parochial duties, however numerous, can only in very few cases furnish sufficient ground to excuse the indolence which prevents their turning to account, by patient industry, for the good of the Church and her children, the talents intrusted to their hands by the Great Master.

To find any fault with a book, to which its author has devoted five years of assiduous study, and that in his own choice field of labor, is no pleasant task to the reviewer. The CATHOLIC QUARTERLY, if it has sinned hitherto, has sinned in the direction of indulgence and complimentary praise bestowed by way of kindness and encouragement, rather than by harshness or undue severity. Yet it has incurred the ill will of more than one Catholic author, in whose books it failed to see perfection. And a sad experience has taught us that those who are the most willing to claim for themselves freedom, or perhaps boundless latitude of speech, are too often the least inclined to allow free speech to others who venture, however modestly, to disagree with their opinions. Dr. Smith, we are willing to believe, is a scholar of too much good sense, and an author of too many years' standing, to retain any undue sensitiveness, where it is question of investigating and ascertaining theological or canonical truth. Hence we have no difficulty in submitting, with all deference, to his own candor and to the judgment of his readers, a few reflections on what may be called the American portion of his work, viz., the "Instructio Sac. Congr. de Prop. Fide" of 1878, and the "Responsio ad Dubia Quædam" of the same Sacred Congregation in 1880.

Rev. Dr. Smith argues skilfully and logically, and it would be very hard to discover any lack of *consequentia* between his premises and his conclusion. But he is not always careful or fortunate in the choice of his premises. More than one example of this might be given, but one will suffice, especially as under his pen it puts on a Protean variety of

shapes. Dr. Smith assumes over and over again, as the basis of his reasoning out certain conclusions, that "the Commission of Investigation is a judicial body, vested with judicial functions." Its "trial" may lack indeed "the various and complex formalities of canon law," but it "is in every other respect a canonical trial or judicial proceeding." Its members "are charged with the absolute and exclusive hearing of certain kinds of causes" (cf. pp. 8, 37, 269, 298, 299, amongst others).

Now, is all this true? And if true, is it so in a strict and technical, or only in a loose sense? The answer to this question is more important than may appear at first sight. For, it is needed not only to sweep away many annoying cobwebs of canonical casuistry, but to reconcile the apparently discordant decisions of Roman tribunals. We, therefore, unhesitatingly make answer that it is true only in a loose, partial sense, and therefore ought not to be laid down as "the law" in what was intended as a textbook for students, in which accuracy must be pushed to its most rigid limits.

Are the members of the Commission judges, or do they act as such? Dr. S. affirms this more or less plainly (pp. 29, 30). But we think he is mistaken. For, a judge in the ecclesiastical or secular forum is defined "Qui utrique parti (actori ac reo) jus dicit," *i. e.*, one who applies the law or decides between two parties (plaintiff and defendant). And what is his *judicium* or official action? It is defined to be "the judge's legal sifting and deciding of an issue between plaintiff and defendant." "Legitima causæ," says Vecchiotti, "inter actorem et reum controversæ per judicem facta discussio et definitio" (Institutiones Canonicæ, Aug. Taurinor, 1878, vol. ii., p. 662). Dr. Smith himself, after Schmalzgruber, defines a judge "a person vested with legitimate power to hear and pronounce upon (decide) litigious issues" (p. 19). Now, we respectfully ask, where is there any "deciding" on the part of our Commissions? None whatsoever. And the Sacred Congregation (Respons. ad Dubia num. 3) states expressly that "votum a consilio datum est semper consultivum," lest the counsellors should for a moment forget that the opinion they form is restrained within the narrow bounds of mere "advice," and can never aspire to the height of "decision." They cannot decide, and therefore are not judges. They hold the place, as it were, of assessors in the Bishop's court, they investigate the truth of alleged facts, they reach a conclusion, put it in writing and hand it over to the Bishop, that it may aid him in his decision. With this last step their official connection with the case comes to an end. The Bishop alone decides, and therefore is the only judge. His decision is legally (we do not say morally) untrammelled by their opinion, since he has the full right to follow them or to differ with them. But why argue the point further? Dr. Smith himself, after maintaining (pp. 29, 30) that "the Commissioners and the Bishop act as judges, each in his own sphere," and that as far as the hearing of the case is concerned, "this part of the judicial proceedings has been transferred from the Ordinary to them," becomes more moderate as he proceeds, and candidly acknowledges (pp. 131, 283) that the members of the Commission "are not judges proper, but only assessors or auditors of the Bishop," and that "the Bishop remains the sole judge in the proper sense of the term."

But is not the "trial" or investigation a "judicial proceeding" as the author so frequently states? In the strict sense of the word we think not. Nor can any one think otherwise after Rome's explicit declaration to the contrary. For she expressly (and this makes it an indispensable legal formality) enjoins on the bishop who convokes the commissioners that, after binding them to secrecy, he shall warn them

that their investigation is NOT a judicial proceeding. Moneat investigationem NON esse processum judicialem (Instructio, Num. V.).

Still, it will be urged, does not Rome herself say that the function of the commission is *judicial?* (Resp. ad Dub. Num. III. *Ex quibus patet.*) It is true, and no one pretends to deny it. But here comes in the distinction we have already made between words used in a technical and in an informal way between the *sensus strictior* and the *sensus latior.* Rome never contradicts herself. If we imagine that we find contradictory assertions in her documents, the mistake is on our side. Upon closer examination and a little reflection we shall discover that these contradictions are only apparent, like the so-called *antilogies* of Holy Writ. In 1878 Rome declared that the investigation is *not* a *judicial* proceeding; in 1880 she calls it a *judicial* function. Not only Rome's honor but common sense likewise must suggest the obvious conclusion, that the word "judicial" is not to be taken in the same sense in both places. It is clear that in one passage it must be construed loosely, *laxiori sensu;* in the other it must be taken in the full rigor of the term. How are we to decide where to apply the strict and where the loose construction? The context or other circumstances will invariably help us out of the difficulty. The "Responsio ad Dubia" was intended to explain doubts that had arisen concerning the "Instructio." But (omitting the fact that no doubt was raised on this special point) we make the general remark that into the elucidation of obscure phrases by lawful authority there cannot possibly enter an absolute denial or contradiction of what was distinctly uttered a short time before by the same authority. This may be the fashion of your Cavours, Sellas, and Mancinis. It is not the style of Rome and her Congregations. Again, in the "Responsio ad Dubia" the judicial office of the Commission is merely stated *nudis verbis.* It is not made the basis of argument, nor a ground of exhortation or of threat. But in the "Instructio" the nonexistence of this judicial character is made by command of Rome a subject of solemn warning to the Commission before undertaking its office. It is evident, therefore, from all legal rules of interpretation that, since the passage of the "Instruction," which contains the word *judicial,* is on the face of it both didactic and comminatory, the term admits only of strict technical interpretation, and that consequently in the "Responsio ad Dubia" it must necessarily be construed *laxiori sensu.*

But it will be suggested, perhaps, by some persistent believer in the judicial powers of the Commission that the document of 1880, being not only later but explanatory and supplementary of the document of 1878, may have enlarged the power of the Commission and made it judicial in the strict sense. We answer that Rome is not in the habit of conferring new powers by the mere use of a casual word. She would specify very carefully the power conferred and its limits. Above all she would recall peremptorily the solemn warning to be given by the bishop at the opening of the Commission's sittings. The document might have done all this, had Rome and the Sacred Congregation so willed it. But evidently it has done nothing of the kind. On the contrary, she (Responsio, Num. III.) takes good care to recall and inculcate the teaching of the "Instructio," viz., that the Commission is meant solely to help the bishop, but to have nothing to do with "*deciding,*" "Consiliarios auxilium praebere Episcopo, MINIME vero ipsos decidere." He who is not empowered to decide is no judge, and his functions, whatever they may be, can never be called judicial *stricto sensu.*

What, then, is the loose sense of *judicial,* as applied to the Commission? It is this: Though its members take no part in the opening of

the court and summoning the accused party, nor in pronouncing the decision, viz., in the first and third stages of a trial, yet they enter necessarily into the second or intermediate stage, which is the hearing of the witnesses. By examining and discussing the testimony brought forward, they are enabled to form an opinion as to the truth of the facts, which opinion each member, individually, must put down in writing. These written opinions are collected and handed over to the Bishop's official, and must be inserted, *inter acta*. In other words, they form an essential part of the court's record or judicial proceedings. And this is what led the Sacred Congregation to use the term judicial office (or duty). It nowhere styles the Commission a judicial body, but designates their office as judicial. The "Responsio," in the second part of paragraph number iii, begins thus: "Ex quibus patet officium Consiliariorum judiciale quidem esse, etc." "From which things it is plain that the Counsellor's office is judicial." Now, what are the "quibus rebus," the "things" that show why and how far their office has a judicial character? These "things" are enumerated in the paragraph immediately preceding, of which this is the substance: 1. The Commission's opinions are only consultative, that is, merely of advice; 2. The definitive sentence is reserved to the Bishop; 3. This is evident from the sacred Canons (we omit the example adduced): 4. Hence the "Instructio" properly says that the Counsellor's office is not to decide, but to aid the Bishop in coming to a decision; 5. The minutes of the investigation and the written opinion of each counsellor must be inserted in the process of every cause. These, then, are the reasons (ex QUIBUS patet) why the office may be called and is *judicial*, *i. e.*, related to, subsidiary to, or in any way concurrent to the official action of *the* Judge. Indeed, if we but for a moment forget the Canonists and their casuistry, and fall back on correct Latin usage, we need not discuss either the strict or loose sense of *judicialis*. Applied even to an individual or body, it no more invests him with the power of Judge, than would the term *Augustalis* entitle a Roman of old to a share in the imperial dignity. Yet, the "Instructio," when styling the Commission judicial, thought it more prudent to throw in a qualifying word "Consilium *quoddam* judiciale."

There are many other points ingeniously, but we fear unsuccessfully argued by Dr. Smith in this volume, for the discussion of which we have neither time nor space, but they may be examined in a future number.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. By John T. Morse, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1882.

This work forms one of a series designed, under the general title of *American Statesmen*, to sketch in a way suitable for general reading the lives and characters of the distinguished men whose public careers are most closely connected with the history of our country. Mr. Morse has been at no loss for materials from which to compose the volume before us. John Quincy Adams was a writer of letters at an age when many boys are only learning the alphabet, and many of these letters have been carefully preserved and were accessible to his biographer. From early youth, too, on to the last day of his long life, he held so many important positions, and was so actively and conspicuously connected with important public measures and events in the history of the United States, that the difficulty of sketching his life and character lies not in the scarcity of materials within easy reach, but rather in their superabundance. The author of the work before us has relied chiefly and

almost entirely upon the diary of the subject of his biography, supplementing it with copies and extracts from his youthful letters. This diary is really a marvellous work. Its first beginnings date back to June, 1777, when John Quincy Adams was less than ten years of age, and when, according to a letter, dated June 2d of that year, written to his father, he had "but just entered the third volume of *Smollett*," a highly judicious and edifying work to be put into his hands by a "pious" tutor, and approved by an equally pious father, as his biographer evidently regards them. With more or less frequent intermissions and omissions of time this diary was continued until 1795, from which year it was regularly kept up until a few days before the death of Mr. Adams in 1848.

In this diary, or journal, John Quincy Adams, with a marvellous persistency of purpose, amid all the demands upon his time by public duties and labors and engagements of an exceptionally busy life, has put down at length his personal impressions and thoughts respecting all the public measures and men that attracted his attention day by day during a period of more than fifty years. He has done this, too, with a fulness of details and a positiveness of judgment explainable only by his natural prolixity of style and the egotistic importance he attached throughout his whole life, from earliest boyhood onwards, to his own personal opinions. The result has been a journal or diary of immense voluminousness, ranking among the half-dozen longest diaries to be found in any library of the world, ponderous and often extremely tedious from the length at which the writer's personal impressions and reflections, usually clear and distinct, but usually also superficial, frequently incorrect, and very often uncharitable and invidious, are set forth. Yet as an account from the writer's own point of view of occurrences and transactions closely connected with the history of our country, and as a gallery of portraits painted by an unfriendly hand, of the persons who were most prominently instrumental in shaping our history, the diary of John Quincy Adams is of inestimable value, furnishing as it does materials for forming sounder judgments respecting public men and measures than the author himself has expressed.

We have characterized his sketches of his contemporaries as made by an unfriendly hand. The expression is not too strong, scarcely strong enough. Mr. Adams, in the course of his long life, was brought into close and intimate contact with nearly every prominent public man in the United States, and many of those of England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia. Yet he seems to have formed warm friendships with none of them; to have esteemed none; and even his respectful references to any of them (which are seldom and exceptional), are mingled with opposing qualifications and criticisms.

Even his biographer and eulogist is constrained to say, "There was always a superfluity of gall in the diarist's ink. Sooner or later every man of any note in the United States was mentioned in his pages, and there is scarcely one of them who, if he could have read what was said of him, would not have preferred the ignominy of omission. As one turns the leaves he feels as though he were walking through a graveyard of slaughtered reputations wherein not many headstones show a few words of even measured commendation. . . . The reader who wishes to retain any comfortable degree of belief in his fellow-men will turn to the wall all the portraits in the gallery except only the illimitable one of the writer himself."

From the disagreeable feelings thus produced by a perusal of the diary Mr. Adams's eulogist finds relief, however, in the statement that, "It is

only the greatness and *goodness* of Mr. Adams himself which relieves the universal atmosphere of sadness [why not call it egotistic cynicism and ill nature?] far more depressing than the melancholy which pervades the novels of George Eliot."

It might naturally be supposed that these unamiable characteristics were the outgrowth of years of angry controversy, of unpleasant collisions with political opponents, and of repeated disappointments at the defeat of warmly cherished projects and ambitious hopes. Not so, however. In the case of John Quincy Adams it is emphatically true that "the child was the father of the man." What he was in mature life and advanced age he was also as a boy. In fact, it may be said with truth that he never was a boy except in years and knowledge and physical strength. He never had the trustfulness, the warmth of feeling, the sense of reverence and respect for his superiors in age and experience, the frank impulsiveness and generosity commonly associated with childhood and youth. Referring to this in connection with letters written during his childhood, his biographer says: "If a lad of seven, or nine, or eleven years of age should write such solemn effusions amid the surroundings and influences of the present day, he would probably be set down as an offensive young prig, or a prematurely developed hypocrite. But the precocious young Adams had only a little of the prig and nothing of the hypocrite in his nature"—opinions which may be taken for what they are worth. His biographer then continues: "Being the outcome of many generations of simple, devout, intelligent Puritans . . . all inherited and all present influences served to make him, as it may be put in a single word, sensible. He had inevitably a mental boyhood and youth, but morally he was never either a child or a lad; all his leading traits of character were as strongly marked when he was seven as when he was seventy."

It would be out of place in a book notice to point out how entirely at variance with the wise intentions of Providence was the youthful character of Mr. Adams, partly the result of inherited traits and partly of the narrowing, crushing influences of his Puritan environment. The passions and the generous impulses of youth never manifested themselves in him, not because they were controlled and held in subordination to the higher principles of Christian duty, but because they were crushed in the very germ and emasculated. Consequently as boy and as man he was cold, self-contained, wrapped up in self, unconsciously set, conspicuously egotistical, intensely ambitious, yet obstinate in maintaining his own opinions and defending his own measures in defiance of public opinion, and repulsive even to those who from time to time, from principle or regard for expediency, were inclined to side with him.

His biographer, in sketching his traits of personal character in a way intended to be highly eulogistic, unconsciously confirms the remarks we have just made. He describes him as having "one of the most honest and independent natures that was ever given to man . . . . courageous as if a fanatic [which he emphatically was in persisting in his own opinions]; indeed, for a long part of his life to maintain a single-handed fight in support of a despised or unpopular opinion seemed his natural function and almost exclusive calling; . . . . he was thoroughly conscientious, and never knowingly did wrong [because conscience with him was simply his own personal opinion, and right, in his mind, was always that which accorded with that opinion]. Never did a man of pure life and just purposes have fewer friends or more enemies than John Quincy Adams. His nature, said to have been very affectionate in his family relations, was in its aspect outside of that small circle, singularly cold and repellent. If he

could ever have had even a small personal following, his character and abilities would have insured him a brilliant and prolonged success; but for a man of his calibre and influence we shall see him as one of the most lonely and desolate of the great men of history; instinct led all the public men of his time to range themselves against him rather than with him, and we shall find them fighting beside him only when irresistibly compelled to do so by policy or strong convictions."

Nor did the lapse of time and advancing years, which commonly smooth the asperities of judgment, soften unpleasant reminiscences and induce more kindly feelings and more charitable judgments respecting former opponents have any such effect on John Quincy Adams. Towards the close of 1835, when he was in his sixty-ninth year, he writes in his diary as follows: "Among the dark spots in human nature which in the course of my life I have observed, the devices of my rivals to ruin me have been sorry pictures of the heart of man. . . . H. G. Otis, Theophilus Parsons, Timothy Pickering, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, and John Davis, W. B. Giles, and John Randolph have used up their faculties in base and dirty tricks to thwart my progress and destroy my character."

A man of wider and deeper judgment, of more amiable temperament, and less supremely wrapped up in self, would have suspected that, if the leading men of all the different sections, parties, and interests of the country were thus universally opposed to him, a part at least of the fault must be in himself. But not so with John Quincy Adams. He was wholly blameless, in his own opinion, all others were entirely wrong. Though he kept up a show of entire indifference to this, he was in reality keenly sensitive to it. In his diary he writes, "All around me is cold and discouraging, and my own feelings are wound up to a pitch that my reason can scarcely endure." Even during the last years of his life, and when he was over seventy years of age, his supreme self confidence and asperity in judging others continue to find expression. "The best actions of my life," he says, "make me nothing but enemies." He represents himself as submitting in silence to "the foulest calumnies," at the very time that he was hurling the bitterest invectives not only upon his foes, but also upon his would-be friends. His diary is thickly besprinkled with remarks about ——— ——— having "emitted half an hour of his rotten breath;" ——— ——— having "uttered a motley compound of eloquence and folly, of braggart impudence and childish vanity, of self-laudation and Virginian narrow-mindedness;" of ——— ——— having "poured forth his black bile;" of ——— ——— "grunting against the tariff;" of ——— ——— "moodily bothering his trickster invention to get over a rule of the House, and snapping like a mackerel at a red rag;" of ——— ——— "as a cross-grained numbskull," etc., etc. Where we have written dashes the diary gives the full names. While thus freely indulging in expressions of contempt and hatred for public men as able and some of them far abler than himself, Mr. Adams complains and predicts that "my public life will terminate by the alienation from me of all mankind," and then endeavors to console himself with the reflection, that "it is the experience of all ages that the people grow weary of old men. I cannot flatter myself that I shall escape the common law of our nature."

It is an unpleasant task to thus exhibit the portrait which Mr. Adams has painted of himself. Yet truth requires it, and all the more so, in order that the people of the United States may realize who and what he really was, whom a large number of them have attempted to set up as a

model to be patterned after, or rather as an idol for worship. He is held up to admiration as a typical New Englander, a true representative of the stern and unbending character which Puritanism produces. The claim is not without foundation. But what a narrow, repulsive, unlovable character, is it not?

But we gladly pass from this to other topics. Incidentally the work throws light upon many almost forgotten, yet interesting chapters in our political history and our relations with other countries. The author describes at length and with details we have seen nowhere else the incessant wranglings of the American Peace Commissioners at Ghent, in 1814, among themselves as well as with the British Commissioners. He gives a graphic and interesting sketch of eight persons at cross purposes all the time, and seemingly resolved never to agree, yet who suddenly reached an agreement—an agreement arrived at too because the points of controversy which really caused the war were left unadjusted (though since then they have adjusted themselves, while other points of momentous importance to the growth and destiny of our country, but then not generally so regarded) were insisted on chiefly by Henry Clay, and were conceded by the British Commissioners, because they were considered by the English Commissioners as of small account.

The terms of peace at first proposed by the English Commissioners are interesting now, as showing the arrogance of the government they represented and its feeling of contemptuous superiority over the United States. The terms were: That part of Maine be ceded by the United States so that the English might have a direct road over their own territory from Halifax to Quebec; that a neutral belt of Indian territory should be established between the dominions of Great Britain and of the United States; that the United States should keep no naval force upon Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, or the four upper great lakes; that the southern shore of Lake Ontario and of the other great lakes should be the northern boundary of the United States; that the United States should not build nor maintain any forts along their northern frontier, and that those they had already built should be dismantled; that the United States should make peace with all the Indian tribes (which had been excited to hostility by British intrigues), and that they should be regarded as allies of the British Government and under its protection; that British subjects and their vessels should have a perpetual right to free navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to its mouth.

These were terms which victors only could impose on the vanquished. Henry Clay indignantly refused to even consider them; and his defiant refusal, declaring he was prepared to fight to the last extremity rather than concede even one of these outrageous demands, conjoined with John Quincy Adams's obstinacy in giving force to the calmer and more measured terms of refusal of their colleagues. The negotiations dragged along for months, neither party seemingly expecting to reach an amicable arrangement, and, according to Mr. Adams's diary, the American Commissioners constantly wrangling among themselves, and at greater variance mutually than they were collectively with the British Commission. According to the diary, Mr. Adams was displeased with all his colleagues, and found constant fault with each of them for one reason or another. He complains of Henry Clay as constantly "losing his temper," "peevish and fractious;" of Mr. Gallatin as insisting on striking out from Mr. Adams's drafts of notes to be sent to the British Commissioners every expression that "might be offensive;" of Messrs. Russell and Bayard on various other grounds. In short, Mr. Adams appears to have been in a constant state of irritation at his colleagues,

and complains continually of their "exasperating actions and temper." At first, Mr. Adams was intrusted with making the first drafts of the notes to be sent to the British Commissioners, but he soon threw up the task, dissatisfied with the numerous alterations made by his colleagues. After that, Mr. Gallatin chiefly performed the work which Mr. Adams had declined.

Mr. Adams creditably filled successively the positions of United States Minister to Belgium, Russia, Germany, and England, but at times when there was little for a United States Minister to do in those countries. As Secretary of State the most important of his acts was that of negotiating a treaty with Spain, settling the southeastern boundary of the United States. For his concession in that treaty of what now forms the vast State of Texas, making the Sabine River, instead of the Rio Grande, the boundary between the dominions of the United States and of Spain, he was severely censured. The merits of the case on either side have become, through our subsequent acquisition of the doubtful or disputed territory, a matter merely of historic interest.

The contest between himself and Jackson, Clay and Crawford, for the Presidential chair, was personal rather than partisan. Previous party issues and party lines were wellnigh effaced. The old Federal party had fulfilled its mission, and no longer existed in compact organized form. It was a question of men rather than of principle or political policy. No one of the candidates received a majority over all the others, and the House of Representatives, mainly through the preponderating influence of Henry Clay, chose John Quincy Adams to be President, and John Quincy Adams, after he was inaugurated, appointed Mr. Clay Secretary of State.

The charges of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay which were based on this action show very clearly the intensity of personal rather than of political rancor that then existed between leading public men; and the part that Andrew Jackson took in giving them publicity and importance, by the credence he seemingly attached to them while he knew they were false, are an indelible stigma upon his character. According to the measure of personal and political purity prevalent now, the charge would be regarded as trivial and ridiculous. The public would expect, as a matter of course, that when several candidates were before the House of Representatives, the two most nearly allied, either by personal or political affinity, or by agreement in opposition to others, would unite their influence to secure the election of one or the other, and the consequent defeat of the one to whom both were hostile. But this was not the public feeling at that time. Public men were held to and judged by a higher standard of morality and honesty than they are now; and consequently Mr. Clay, whom Jackson especially hated and feared, and whose open chivalrous character made him most sensible to such imputations, was made the target against whom venomous slander directed its poisonous arrows. Mr. Adams's biographer shows how the very efforts of Henry Clay's enemies to entangle him in the net of suspicion woven from circumstances giving plausibility to the charge brought his triumphant vindication. But truth, though sure to overtake falsehood in the end, travels at slower pace, and the slanderous imputation embittered Mr. Clay's whole life. The truth is, Mr. Clay was shut up to the throwing of his influence in favor of Mr. Adams. There was no prospect of himself being elected, and Crawford, whom he probably preferred over both Adams and Jackson, had become paralytic to an extent that made him incapable of discharging the duties of the Presidential office. The only alternative, therefore, was Adams or Jackson.

The latter it was impossible for Mr. Clay to support, both from personal and political reasons. His influence, therefore, went where necessity and personal consistency compelled it.

The account of Mr. Adams's Presidency is brief. Mr. Adams's supporters were in the minority both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. No questions of primary importance claimed attention and no important measures were adopted. At the close of Mr. Adams's Presidental term, in 1829, Andrew Jackson, who was elected by an overwhelming majority, succeeded him in office, and Mr. Adams quietly retired to his home at Quincy. In the fall of 1830 he was elected by the voters of his Congressional district to a seat in the House of Representatives, which, by successive re-elections, he occupied until, on February 21st, 1848, he fell over insensible in the House, and, continuing unconscious, expired on the 23d.

The latter part of the volume will, probably, be read with greatest interest. It is largely occupied with an account of Mr. Adams's course in Congress, from 1831 to 1848, in connection with the anti-slavery agitation, petitions to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and kindred subjects. The space our notice already occupies prevents our entering on this subject, nor is it perhaps expedient to do so under existing circumstances. Suffice it to say that the statements of Mr. Adams's biographer, based upon Mr. Adams's own diary, in which he records at length his feelings and ideas, and those of his supporters, plainly show that Mr. Adams—and in this he was the representative of a large and influential part of the citizens of New England—intended and endeavored to drive the Southern States out of the Union. The idea of abolishing slavery within their limits and coercing them to continue in the Union had not then obtained existence. The alternative course proposed was to compel them either to abolish slavery or to abandon the Union. Coercion to retain them came afterwards, when the dire consequences of a divided country, and the necessity of maintaining its unity, confronted the people of the Northern States at the outbreak of the late civil war.

History of the World from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. For Schools and Colleges. *By John MacCarthy.* New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1882.

We welcome this work as a valuable contribution to Catholic school-book literature. In its general plan, arrangement, and treatment of the subjects it comprises, it is one of the best works of the kind that has come under our notice. The number of compendiums of general history that can be used with even comparative safety as textbooks in Catholic schools is very small. And few as these are most of them are seriously defective in one way or another.

For this reason we have examined the work before us all the more carefully; and also because there is scarcely any other subject falling within the ordinary range of secular studies in which a textbook, according to its character, can work more good, or more harm. For there is scarcely any other subject in the study of which truthful or false ideas of religion, its origin and basis, its objects and end, its principles, and the nature and extent of its influence upon mankind can be so easily insinuated and so thoroughly inculcated; ideas which follow the pupil in all after-life, and interweave themselves with his views and opinions respecting social relations, civil polity, morality, art, science, literature, and, in fact, all the interests and concerns comprehended in the general

progress of mankind. And to the study or reading of works in which historical events, their causes, relations, and consequences, have been untruthfully represented, we attribute much of the prevailing *Liberalism* of the age, and much, too, of the confusion and contradiction of ideas in the minds of many earnest practical Catholics, on important subjects not strictly nor explicitly comprised in the dogmas of faith, yet very closely related to them.

Hence we regard it as exceedingly important that textbooks on history, especially, intended for use in Catholic schools, should be subjected to severest scrutiny, with a view not only to the exclusion of those which are positively pernicious or positively defective, but also to the improvement of those which are positively meritorious.

This is all the more important because, as written by non-Catholics, history for the last three hundred years has been a vast conspiracy against the truth. This remark, strong and sweeping as it may seem, holds good not only as to Protestant and avowedly anti-Catholic historians, but also as to those of the purely secular humanitarian school. The Protestant and confessedly anti-Catholic historians, in order to justify the great rebellion of the sixteenth century against authority, have systematically suppressed many important facts, have dwarfed or exaggerated, distorted and discolored others, and invented still others which never had actual existence; and facts which were too strong and stubborn to be so treated they have represented in wrong relations and connections. The other (purely secular and humanitarian) school of modern historians have done equal or greater harm in another way. They generally accept and recognize the truth that religion has been and is a factor of immense power in the production of historical events and the march of human progress. But some of them look upon and represent it as the product merely of human thought and reflection, and still others of them regard it as an intruding element of great power but pernicious influence; as having its origin and basis in falsehood and superstition, which the development of human reason will eventually sweep away. Both these classes of humanitarian skeptical historians (like Hume and Gibbon) give large space in their works to religious events and movements, their causes, concomitant circumstances and consequences, but they exhibit these movements in wrong relations, they assign wrong reasons for their occurrence, misrepresent their real influence and effects, and attribute to them consequences which not they but other causes produced. The influence of these last-mentioned historians is more pernicious because more subtle than that of any others. The harmful influence of their writings is not so much in suppression of facts, invention of positive falsehoods, or gross misrepresentation, but in the skilful arrangement of facts, the shading and coloring they give them, and the wrong connections and relations in which they exhibit them.

There is still another class of historians, though it is rapidly diminishing in number, whose writings fail to present a truthful view of history, not through an error of intention, but of judgment. They endeavor to entirely separate religion from secular history. They make a broad but in reality purely imaginary line between sacred and "profane" or secular history. They endeavor to exhibit the secular movements of nations and of the world without reference to and as unconnected with religious movements. But in this way they really, though unintentionally, misrepresent Christianity, which is not only truly divine but also truly and intensely human, and which, therefore, for both these reasons, is concerned with and related to all the movements of man-

kind in every sphere of thought and action. In like manner these writers misrepresent secular history by excluding from it the religious element which interpenetrates it at every point, causes directly or indirectly many of its external events, and gives to them all their deepest importance and meaning. To one who has a really intelligent idea of what history comprehends, and still more to one who has a correct idea of the object and end of human existence, and of the relation of man to God, religion stands forth prominently not only as an immense fact extending through all nations and ages, but as a most potential factor in forming and shaping the characters, ideas, and movements of all races of mankind. He recognizes this in the times antecedent to the nativity of our divine Lord, and he perceives it shining forth still more clearly since His nativity.

It is, therefore, impossible to truthfully exhibit the history of any age or nation, and still more of the world, without giving a prominent place to the movements of religion; nor a history of the world since the nativity of our Divine Redeemer without bringing conspicuously into view the action of His Church in fulfilling her mission, and the nature, far-reaching power, and permanence of the influence, she has exerted and exerts in developing the characters, habits, ideas, civil polity, philosophy, literature, art, and science of the peoples she has evangelized.

We are glad to see that the author of the work before us recognizes this truth, and that he has, accordingly, exhibited more fully than most writers of general history (though still not so fully as we could desire), the influence which the Church in mediæval times exerted in giving form and shape to the civilization she recreated in Europe, and to fostering and promoting all the interests which we comprehend under the word, civilization.

Were the subject of the work one of less importance we would stop here and refrain from pointing out some omissions and deficiencies which have resulted, we presume, from the necesssity of constant condensation to keep the volume down to a convenient size. They are of minor importance, and do not destroy the usefulness and decided merits of the work, inasmuch as they may be readily supplied by the oral comments of teachers.

We would have been glad had the author given a page or two more to his chapter on the history of the Hebrews, so as to have included a more distinct recognition of the fact that Moses's return to Egypt from Madian was in obedience to divine command, and that the plagues sent upon the Egyptians and the deliverance of the Israelites from Pharaoh's pursuing army were special divine interpositions; and also so as to have included a brief account of the events that occurred during the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert, the institution of their tabernacle worship, of their peculiar code of civil and religious law, their habits and customs in Palestine and their religious literature; also a brief account of the nativity of our Divine Lord, His public ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension; the commissioning and sending forth of His Apostles, and the institution of His Church. The author gives two brief paragraphs to these last-named subjects in his account of the reigns of Augustus Cæsar and Tiberius Cæsar, but we think a more distinct treatment of them would be in place in his history of the Hebrews, which occupies only five pages of the volume. In like manner we would be glad to see in a subsequent edition of the work a page or two given to an account of the missionary labors of the Apostles and their successors,

and the action of the Church in evangelizing the nations between the time of the Apostles going forth from Jerusalem and the age of Constantine; also a somewhat fuller treatment of the action of the Church during the Middle Ages in recreating civilization; her influence upon morals, civil polity, industrial progress, art, literature, philosophy, and science, and of the real issues and true significance of her struggles with the civil powers of England, France, and Germany, in behalf both of civil and religious rights and for the reform of morals. The part of a chapter given to the history of Ireland strikes us as being too little—only two pages. It is postponed also too, we think, too far towards the middle of the volume. The early history of Ireland, its literature, and the distinguished part its monks and missionaries took in diffusing the light both of religion and of secular learning require in our opinion a few more pages.

We have made these minute criticisms because the decided merits of the work make it worthy of careful examination and notice. To prevent possibility of misunderstanding our meaning we add that all the subjects we have mentioned the author has touched upon. The only question is that of greater fulness of treatment. To accomplish this would require no change of plan or method in the work, but would enlarge it by some pages. Perhaps, too, most of these might be gained by condensation of the earlier periods of ancient Roman and Grecian history and of the spread of Mohammedanism, though the author's accounts of these are so clear and judicious that we should be sorry to see them shortened. We do not think that the few additional pages suggested would make the volume too large.

The brevity of treatment of the subjects we have pointed out we regard not as positive but negative defects. They doubtless, as we have already said, result from the necessity of the author having to constantly aim at condensing the immense amount of matter his subject comprises. As the work is, and in its present edition, we look upon it as one of the best compendiums of general history, from the Catholic point of view, that we are acquainted with, and warmly commend it to the favorable consideration of directors and teachers of Catholic schools.

JOHN INGLESANT. A Romance. Fourth edition. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

This book, which is stated by the author, J. Henry Shorthouse, to be an attempt at a philosophical romance, is the most important and insidiously pernicious work of fiction which has appeared in English since Daniel Deronda. The extraordinary favor with which it has been received is not due to its accuracy as a historical narrative, nor the depth of its philosophy. In the former aspect it does not rise much above the level of Muhlbach, while nearly all shades of religious and irreligious views are treated of in such fashion as to leave the reader in doubt as to the bias of the author. We say nearly all, for, curiously enough, although the book deals, for much the greater part, with Catholics and their opinions and doings, it contains no statement of Catholic doctrine. Indeed, so little importance is attached to consistency where Catholic belief is concerned, that, although Inglesant is represented on more than one occasion as receiving Holy Communion from the hands of priests, it is nowhere stated that he had left the English Church, or made a formal profession of faith as a Catholic. It would be breaking a butterfly to complain of inconsistency and inaccuracy in a mere work of fiction, did not the author declare that

he has written nothing which he would not equally have set down in an historical or controversial work. There is a great deal of rather gushing piety of the High Church pattern expressed by the hero and others, and much dilletante theology scattered through the book, but even the most conscientious of the many ecclesiastics introduced are far from being life studies. The work, however, is one of a sustained dignity of style, which places it immeasurably above the average of English fiction, and in harmony with the design of the author, which he declares to be "an endeavor to trace some distinct threads,—the conflict between Culture and Fanaticism,—the analysis and character of sin,—the subjective influence of the Christian myths." We have said that the dignity of the style is in harmony with such a design,—certainly an ambitious one,—but not in any satisfactory degree carried out. Many of the episodes in the book are of a striking character; their improbability being excusable on the score that it is confessedly a romance, while the descriptions of scenery have all the vividness and realism of Black, without his cloying sweetness and wearisome repetition. The work has passed through four editions in two years, and it has been so discussed and commented upon among reading people in England, that it is said that anti John Inglesant clubs have been formed to suppress that particular form of boredom. It furnishes, therefore, hopeful evidence that a work of fiction may achieve success without containing any of the indigestible "spice" upon which the popularity of most recent novels depends.

The story deals with certain incidents supposed to have occurred in England during the latter part of the reign of Charles I., and after his death, on the Continent, and more particularly in Italy. The hero belongs to a family which, although it nominally adheres to the Church of England, has not entirely lost its Catholic traditions and sympathies. The laws against Catholics, which had been so stringently administered during the reign of James I., had been much relaxed after the marriage of Charles I. to Henrietta Maria of France. Whereas formerly no priest could be found in England without incurring the death penalty in its most ignominious form, now the Queen openly attended mass, and ecclesiastics frequently officiated in the houses of the nobility, where those who retained the faith were ministered to with rapidly increasing freedom. Encouraged by this state of affairs to believe that the Catholic ascendency was near at hand, the father of our hero placed him under the guidance of a Jesuit, Father St. Clair, who attends with anxious care to his education. Inglesant is found by the priest to be a most apt and satisfactory pupil, and he furnishes him with all the mental and physical accomplishments necessary to his outfit as a trusted and efficient agent of the Society.

Father St. Clair is represented as a brave, able, accomplished, and, where questions of church advancement are concerned, an unscrupulous man. In fact, a traditional Jesuit, so often found in fiction but never in real life, who could equally well take the part of an accomplished courtier or a Thames boatman, and who, to retain for his pupil the confidence of the Protestants, and thus to increase his efficiency as an agent, endeavors to prevent him from embracing Catholicity by subjecting him to the influence of the atheist Hobbes.

A strong effort is evident throughout the book to invest Inglesant with all the qualities of a hero of romance, but, we think, without success. He remains at the close, a very inconsequent and unsatisfactory character, some of his aberrations being accounted for by the influence of the Jesuits, and others by a wound on the head received while fighting

for the King. The most poetic portion of the book is the description of the ideally beautiful life led by the inhabitants of Nicholas Ferrar's Protestant Nunnery, at Little Giddings, and the most forcible the description of the plague at Naples. We know of nothing, in its way, more powerful than this, except the account given of the same horrors in Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi.*

After an eventful career, all the incidents of which we cannot even allude to for lack of space, but which include his attendance, as an agent of the Jesuits, upon the conclave which elected Cardinal Fabio Chigi as Pope, under the title of Alexander VII., we find him mixed up with the Molinists, and devoted to their quietest heresy. He attends a meeting of this faction, and makes an eloquent speech in favor of obtaining for the rich and intellectual the right to receive holy communion without recourse to the sacrament of penance, for, he acknowledges, "this allowance to the lower masses of the people, so prone to run to extremes, and to err in excess, would seem unwise." While formulating these demands before his aristocratic auditors, "he wore a cassock of silk, and the gown of a Benedictine monk, of the finest cloth. His head was tonsured, and his hair cut short. He had round his neck a band of fine cambric, and he wore on his hand a diamond of great value. He had, indeed, to those who saw his dress and not his face, entirely the look of a petit-maitre, and even what is more contemptible still, of a petit-maitre priest."

Shortly after the meeting Molinos is arrested and condemned to prison for heresy, and Inglesant himself only escapes the Castle of St. Angelo through the favor of the Jesuits. The condemnation of Molinos and his works was in reality pronounced by the saintly Innocent XI., during the third reign after Alexander VII., but this little departure from history is of no consequence, as far as the story is concerned, the conclave and the condemnation had both to be worked in.

During a parting interview with Inglesant, the Director of the Jesuits thus places the situation squarely before him: "The question is between individual license and obedience to authority; and upon the choice, though you may not think it, depends the very existence of Christianity in the world. Between unquestioning obedience to authority and absolute unbelief there is not a single permanent resting-place, though many temporary halts may be made." Inglesant is assured that every facility shall be given him for transporting his property to England, and it is plainly hinted that he will probably be more comfortable elsewhere than in Rome. In taking his leave, Inglesant assures the Father that he has nothing to say of the Society but what is good. It had ever been tender and parental to him. He would go away with nothing but sadness and affection in his heart,—with nothing but gratitude to the Director,—with nothing but reverence towards the city,—the Mother of the World.

Did the book end here it would be a much more complete work of art than we find it, for alas the end is a sad anti-climax to the career of one who had been mistaken for St. George himself, and who had attended at the election of a Pope. The concluding pages inform us that shortly after Inglesant returned to England, his friend, Father St. Clair, died. Relieved from the controlling influence of his master, he seems to have drifted in with that portion of his countrymen who worship God according to act of Parliament, and we leave him dividing his attention, still in the petit-maitre manner, between his fiddle and "the pleasanter parts of Christianity."

THE LIFE OF ST. PHILIP NERI, APOSTLE OF ROME. By *Alphonso Capecelatro*, some time Superior of the Oratory of Naples, Archbishop of Capua, and Domestic Prelate to his Holiness, Pope Leo XIII. Translated by Thomas Alder Pope, M.A., of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

Intelligent, thoughtful, and devout study of the lives of Saints cannot fail to be highly profitable, for instruction, for increase of faith, and for intensifying devotion. Raised up as they are in the Providence of God, and specially guided and led by Him along the paths they tread, they always have a direct relation to some special work or object, as divinely chosen instruments for its accomplishment. And, as in the war between truth and error, obedience to the divine law and disobedience, holiness and impiety, there are continual changes in the secondary issues of the conflict, so, too, there are corresponding differences in the personal characteristics, in the spiritual gifts, the Christian virtues, and also the Christian work of the Saints of different ages, and also of those, even, of the same age. These differences give an endless variety to the aspects under which the faith, devotion, and holiness of the Saints exhibit themselves in their lives. They resemble a garden of flowers, all of entrancing beauty and pleasant odors, yet each differing from the others in form, color, and fragrance.

Not to lengthen the illustration of this truth by comparing the Saints of different ages of the Church, it is sufficient to refer to that of St. Philip Neri. It was the sixteenth century, almost the whole of which was covered by his life, he having been born in 1515 and died in 1595. It was, we need scarcely say, an age of confusion and contradictions, of destruction and reconstruction. The Middle Ages had fulfilled their special purpose, and were passing away, and along with them what was special and temporary in their civilization was also passing away. The germs of a new age and new civilization, which were planted and had struck their roots far and deep during the latter part of the Mediæval period, in the sixteenth century, took possession of the whole intellectual and moral soil of Europe, and now that they appeared above the surface it was visibly evident that among the good seed the Church had planted there was springing up an immense crop of tares which "the great enemy of mankind had thickly sowed." As regards the Church, it was at once the stormiest and the most languid century of the Church's history. There was a widespread corruption of morals, a mournful relaxation of discipline, and a disposition on the part of a few Catholic prelates even to transfuse Christianity with the forms and spirit of Paganism. There were multitudes who, though Christians in belief, were practically Pagans in their lives, and others who were Pagans and even Atheists in philosophy, yet Christians in religion; Pagans in literature and art, while professing, in regard to Religion, the very principles which contradict all Paganism; persons, who taught and held that one and the same thing might be true in theology and false in philosophy.

Thus, though the Church herself remained fair, holy, and immaculate, multitudes of her children became corrupt and perverse. In the name of liberty, the spirit of lawlessness and rebellion was cherished and followed. The independence of human thought in the natural order was sacrilegiously transferred into the supernatural. The powers of reason were no longer confined to discovering new relations between the objective truth and the mind which gazed upon it, but boldly employed in criticising the truth itself, paring it down to the capacity of the thinker, and shaping it to please his preconceived notions, his passions, or his whims.

It is no wonder that from this confusion of liberty with license, of truth

with men's own subjective ideas of it, conjoined with a widespread corruption of morals and relaxation of discipline, a tempest of heresy and rebellion should burst forth, the effects of which are still felt. Yet in this emergency God was not wanting to His Church. He raised up a host of mighty Saints, of different natural characters and different spiritual gifts, who, in different ways, yet all united by a common purpose, resisted the torrent of heresy and irreligion, refuted error, exhibited the truth in clearer light, made reparation by their own self-denials, mortifications, and superhuman devotion for the sacrileges of the age, compelled God, as it were, by the holy importunity of their prayers, to stay the desolating scourge, won back into the communion of the Church thousands who had been deluded and seduced into schism, and converted other thousands of lukewarm, worldly-minded, and inconsistent Christians, into zealous, devout, consistent followers of Christ.

The names merely of the holy men and women who gave themselves with entire self-abnegation to this work would fill pages. Prominent among them were Saints Teresa, Catharine of Genoa, Ignatius Loyola, Cajetan, Pius V., Philip Neri, Charles Borromeo, Camillus, Francis Xavier, John of God, John of the Cross, Peter of Alcantara, Lewis Bertrand, Thomas of Villanova, Francis Borgia, Aloysius Gonzaga, Stanislaus Kostka, Francis de Sales, and Vincent de Paul, various in their special missions, labors, Christian graces, as in their natural gifts, characters, and dispositions.

Among these St. Philip Neri is conspicuous, as well for the special character of the work he performed and the special method he employed, as for the extent and permanence of the work itself. He occupied a special and peculiar relation to the Protestant (so-called) Reformation, and also to the true and holy reformation of the Church by the Church herself; a relation, which brings the work and methods of St. Philip into strong contrast with those of most of the other Saints of that period, and especially with those of Saints Ignatius Loyola, Pius V., and Charles Borromeo. Yet, with the Saints just named St. Philip was intimate and labored in perfect harmony. His special work was the complement of theirs. It supplied what without it would have been incomplete. And St. Philip's natural character and peculiar spiritual gifts corresponded entirely with the peculiarity of his work. His work and method of accomplishing it were so quiet, so unconspicuous, so free from the noise of controversy, from direct opposition and denunciation, that, when looked at carelessly and superficially, there seems to be nothing remarkable about them. It was not as a fierce fire, clearing the ground of thorns and briers, nor as a mighty wind sweeping away noxious vapors. It was rather like the dew coming down from heaven, gently, imperceptibly, upon the earth, and refreshing and revivifying its verdure. And long did this work of St. Philip in Rome, the centre of Christendom, continue to be personally carried on and supervised by himself. For fifteen Popes, with all of whom he had more or less intimate relations, reigned and passed away during his life.

The work before us brings these facts and truths prominently to view. It clearly traces and exhibits the gradual, gentle unfolding of St. Philip's lovely character, the first humble and unconspicuous beginnings of his special work, its quiet growth, its gradual yet steady accessions of strength, its constant advance through the midst of opposing elements without exciting antagonism, its blessed fruits, its deep importance and intimate relation to the general mission of the Church and the progress of true Religion; the last illness and death of St. Philip, his numerous wonderful miracles; his beatification and canoni-

zation. In addition to these topics, St. Philip's biographer explains at length the peculiar character and spirit of the society which St. Philip founded—the Oratory—its rule, and the work it accomplishes.

The book throughout is replete with profound thoughts, intermingled with the warm and deep feelings of a heart glowing with intense devotion, expressing themselves in luminous words.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. Translated from the French of the Abbé Orsiné by the *Very Reverend F. C. Husenbeth, D.D., V. G.*, Provost of Northampton. A New Edition. With Illustrations. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

The holy Evangelist, St. Matthew, in narrating the successful end of the search of the Magi for our Divine Lord, says that they "found the child *with His mother, Mary;*" and the Council of Ephesus, in defending the mystery of the Incarnation against the Nestorian heresy, and teaching the union, in one Person without confusion, of the divine and human natures of Christ, solemnly declared and promulgated as an article of faith, that Mary was truly and really "*Theotokos*,"—THE MOTHER OF GOD. Thus the express words of sacred Scripture unite with the uniform action of the Church in teaching the intimate, inseparable connection of Mary with our Divine Lord, not only in time and by the ties of nature, but also in the supernatural truths and mysteries of our holy religion.

Hence every attempt, prudently and devoutly made, and in submission to the faith, to search into and bring to light the hidden life of the blessed Virgin is not only, not to be discouraged but commended. And while the references to that hidden life in the narratives of the Holy Evangelists are few and brief, as they are also to our Divine Lord previous to His entrance on his public ministry, yet sacred tradition supplies many facts respecting the life of Mary which it is not only interesting to know, but also highly edifying to reflect and meditate upon.

The volume before us is such an attempt. The writer brings to his undertaking a rare combination of qualifications,—great learning, careful and laborious research into all available sources of information, keen discrimination, calmness of judgment united with a spirit of deep devotion and unswerving faith. Along with all this he possesses an active and powerful imagination and rare command of language, which enables him, where the immediate subject permits or requires it, to state incidents and describe scenes in words that glow and burn with the fire of a holy inspiration.

The author, in the first part of his work, traces the universal expectation of the Blessed Virgin and the Messias, as it is found in the earliest traditions of ancient nations; which traditions universally contain fragments of the primitive revelation, which fragments, though more or less distorted, yet testify both to the existence of that revelation and the truths it comprised. This chapter, which has the marks throughout of immense research and profound study, is of great value, showing clearly the universality and the strength of the testimony in the traditions of ancient peoples to the knowledge by them in more or less shadowy form of the divine promise that the Virgin Mother of the Most High God should bruise the serpent's head.

In the second chapter the author, in like manner, traces up the belief that she who was destined from all eternity to conceive in her chaste womb and bring forth into the world as very man Him "whose tabernacle is the sun and who bows the heaven beneath His feet," can be "no ordinary creature and must have prerogatives superior to humanity."

He shows that the belief in the immaculate conception of Mary flows from this feeling of reverence, and that, foreshadowed in the ancient traditions of even heathen nations, it has always been implied in the Christian faith, and has grown in expressed clearness and strength from age to age. In the closing paragraph of this chapter occurs the following declaration, remarkable as having been written before the promulgation, in 1854, as a Dogma of Faith, of the Immaculate Conception:

"If the tradition of the Apostles, the favorable disposition of the Church, the authority of Councils, the adherence of universities and religious orders, the assent of kings and nations, the dedication of temples and altars, the foundations of offices, the institution of confraternities and of royal orders, may be taken into account in a controversy which has astonished the very pagans,[1] the cause of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, so long before the tribunal of Catholic opinion, appears to us to be won."

In subsequent chapters the learned and devout writer treats of the Birth of Mary, her Presentation, her Life in the Temple, her Life as an Orphan, her Marriage, of the Annunciation and Visitation, her Virginal Pregnancy, of the Birth of the Messias, the Adoration of the Magi, the Purification, the Flight into Egypt, and the Return from Egypt, of Mary at the Preaching of Jesus, Mary on Calvary, her subsequent life, her death and assumption into heaven. In treating these subjects the writer has interwoven as directly pertinent to and illustrative of his statements many beautiful descriptions of the manners, and customs, and ideas of the ancient Jews and Egyptians, and of the scenery of those countries, and also a vast amount of historical erudition.

The value of the work is greatly enhanced by numerous footnotes mentioning (with page and date) the historical sources from which he has derived his information, and which support his conclusions.

An appendix contains an admirable paper on the Immaculate Conception and a vivid description of the incidents and scenes on the memorable eighth of December when it was promulgated and defined as a Dogma of Faith; also the Letters Apostolic of Pius IX. containing the definition; and a sermon of St. Bernard on the "Twelve Prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

THE GROUNDWORK OF THE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES. A Course of Lectures, by *Bishop Ullathorne*. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

This truly admirable work is dedicated to "the Reverend Mothers and Sisters of the English Dominican Congregation of St. Catharine of Sienna," and took its beginning from instructions directed to the formation of the first members of that Religious Order.

Its evident purpose is to guide and aid devout souls to attain Christian perfection by exhibiting the true nature of the receptive virtue of humility, the relations it bears to the other Christian virtues, its qualities as their essential groundwork, and as the preparation, sustaining power, and protection of them all. For, as the author remarks, the foundation of the Christian virtues is itself a strong and a most comprehensive virtue, and a virtue, without which there is no Christian virtue. It is the moral groundwork of God's building in the soul, securing firmness and solidity to the whole magnificent structure of the Christian virtues, by which the soul ascends to God. For, as the soul is destined

[1] "What then!" exclaimed Julian, the Pelagian, addressing himself to a bishop who maintained the universality of original sin, "what then! do you subject the birth of Mary to the empire of the devil?"

for a good unspeakably higher than her nature, as God himself is the supreme object of the soul, she cannot receive what is necessary for her union with God and her perfection, without the free subjection of her will and the voluntary dependence of her hope on God. So far is this willing subjection from debasing the soul, that it brings her to the majesty and submits her to the loving condescension of God, which gives honor to her nature and dignity to her character. Nor is the freedom of our nature lessened by this subjection; it is wonderfully increased. We are set free in mind by the possession of greater truth, and free in heart by the possession of greater good. Our subjection to God is not a descent but an ascent; not a subjection to things lower than ourselves, but a movement towards what is incomparably higher than we are.

In the fulfilment of his plan, the author, in three separate chapters, profoundly expounds the Divine law of Probation, its fundamental reason and ground, nature, purposes and objects; the Nature of Christian Virtue; and the Difficulties of Virtue. He then treats of the Nature of Humility. He points out its relations to faith, purity, and charity, and its opposition to the fundamental idea or standard of the world's virtue, which is the supremacy of the natural man. He then cites a number of definitions and expositions of humility by eminent Christian writers and Saints, employing them in farther illustration of his subject, and then passes on to the farther consideration of humility, *subjectively* and *objectively;* or, in other words, "the virtue, as it exists in the powers of the soul and is exercised by them, and the object and end for which the virtue is exercised, and the reasons and motives upon which it is exercised." He further shows how heresy, and especially the Pelagian heresy, is in deadly hostility to the virtue of humility, and concludes this exceedingly important chapter by an exposition of the truth that "humility is the just and truthful expression in our thought, sense, and conduct, of our nature, our position, and our dependence, as the subjects of God."

In subsequent, separate chapters, the learned author profoundly treats on "The Grounds of Humility," "Humility towards our Neighbor," "How Humility Responds to the Benignity of God," "The Divine Master of Humility," "Humility as the Receptive Foundation of the Divine Gifts and Virtues," "The Magnanimous Character of Humility," "The Detestable Vice of Pride," "The World without Humility," "The Foolish Vice of Vanity," "The Schools of Humility," "Humility as the Counterpart of Virtue."

Although the work treats thoroughly and profoundly the deep and important topics it embraces within its scope, yet the method is so happy in its simplicity and directness, and the author is so lucid and distinct in thought and language, that he can be followed and understood, without weariness of mind or difficulty, by any person of ordinary powers of mind. He doubtless intends his work primarily for the guidance of religious and their spiritual directors, but its perusal and study will also be useful to devout persons in secular life. We have seldom met with a work at once so profound, and yet so easy to understand; so interesting, as well as edifying.

THE FORAY OF QUEEN MEAVE, AND OTHER LEGENDS OF IRELAND'S HEROIC AGE. By *Aubrey de Vere.* London: Kegan, Paul, French & Co. 1882.

The literary remains of ancient Ireland have never, as yet, obtained the consideration they merit. Of late years attention has been directed to them, but scarcely a beginning has been made towards opening the vast

quarry of rich materials which these remains form. Their greatness and value are scarcely suspected even, except by a very few persons. Notwithstanding the destruction of countless works, which were known to have existed as late as the sixteenth century, and the yet larger number that existed in the eleventh century, and notwithstanding the vast collections that perished during the Danish invasions, it is said that the Irish books, preserved, yet in a measure buried, in the Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Royal Irish Library, would fill 30,000 quarto pages.

The volume before us is a contribution towards illustrating Ireland's "Heroic Age." It contains poetic reproductions of three of the legendary tales of that period. The "Foray of Queen Meave," the longest of the three, is founded on and designed to substantially represent the famous "Train to Cuailgné," which is regarded by some Irish scholars as the great Irish epic of ancient times, by others, as part only of a larger epic of which numerous portions remain.

The other two tales which make up the volume—"The Children of Lir," and "The Sons of Usnach,"—are poetic reproductions of two of the tales known in Ireland as the "Three Sorrows of Song." These tales are interesting, not only on account of the poetic merits which they possess in a high degree, but also for the light they throw on early Irish ideas and customs, and on the mutual relations of Ireland's different kingdoms. They show, too, the distinctive characteristics of ancient Irish Paganism, and contain many incidental proofs that it was of higher and purer character, and loftier in its ideas, than the Paganism, either of Scandinavia or of ancient Greece and Rome.

THE TRUTHS OF SALVATION. By *Rev. J. Pergmayer, S. J.* Translated from the German by a Father of the same Society. (With the permission of Superiors.) Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Apostolic See: New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: 1882.

This little volume consists of exercises intended to aid persons in profitably making a retreat. The impelling reason which led to its translation into English, and doubtless, too, to its composition by its author, is the fact that very many persons fail to reap permanent fruit from a retreat. First, because they do not engage with sufficient seriousness in a thorough consideration of eternal truths, and these truths being only superficially reflected on, exert, consequently, but little influence on their lives; and secondly, because such persons do not fully examine the state of their souls, and, therefore, not knowing their defects, leave them uncorrected. The heart recoils from nothing so much as a search and scrutiny which makes it see and feel its own miseries.

The work before us is, therefore, translated in the hope that it will aid those who earnestly desire to consider the truths of salvation and to acquire self-knowledge. It is primarily intended for the use of religious, but it may be very profitably employed by others. In outward form the meditations and exercises comprised in the book are limited to eight days, but it contains the four weeks of the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius in an abridged form.

It is a work of great merit. Its author was a native of Bavaria, who in 1733 entered the Society of Jesus, and lived a very holy life in Munich, preaching there for many years and guiding several religious communities in the path of perfection. Though palsied in his hands so that he was obliged to use them both in holding the pen, he wrote a number of excellent works full of unction, and died a holy death, on the 23d of March, 1765.

The work, as translated, is published with the *imprimatur* of His Eminence, Cardinal McCloskey, and with the approval and recommendation of Right Rev. W. M. Wiggar, Bishop of Newark.

LEXIQUE DE LA LANGUE IROQUOISE, avec Notes et Appendices, par *J. A. Cuoq*, Prêtre de Saint Sulpice. Montreal: J. Chapleau & Fils, Imprimeurs-Editeurs. 1882. 8vo, pp. 215.

This is a contribution to the language of the Iroquois or Five Nations, particularly as now spoken in the Catholic villages in Canada. The author is one of the most distinguished linguists in this country, being thoroughly versed in the Iroquois and Algonquin, the two great families of languages spoken from Carolina and Tennessee to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. The Abbé Cuoq was long missionary at the Lake of the Two Mountains, with a congregation partly Iroquois and partly Algonquin, and had to address each part in its own language. He has studied each language thoroughly, and has already given proof of his sound learning. He exploded theories of the brilliant infidel, Renan, in his *Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les langues sauvages*, and gave an outline of the grammatical structure of both languages in his *Etudes Philologiques*. Like Sulpitians generally, he has habitually concealed his name, the two former works bearing merely the initials N. O., which stood really for Nijkwenatc-anibic (the double beautiful leaf), his Algonquin name, and Orakwanentakon (the fixed star), his Iroquois name. The present work, under his own name, contains radical words of the Iroquois language, 74 pp.; derivatives and compounds, 78 pp.; supplementary notes and appendix. Radicals of the Mohawk language, by Father Bruyas, and an Onondaga Dictionary, by an unknown French missionary, printed in Shea's *American Linguistics*, were all that students previously possessed. In fact, all material for the study of the language of the Iroquois nations of New York has been contributed by Catholics.

The Abbé Cuoq is familiar with the linguistic studies of the time, and his work will aid the historical scholar in solving many difficulties, as well as prove a great aid to all interested in linguistic investigations.

STUDIES IN SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By *G. Frederick Wright*, author of "The Logic of Christian Evidences." Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1882.

This work consists of a number of essays, in the form of successive chapters, each in a measure independent of the others, yet all related to the author's purpose of showing that there is no real opposition between the Bible and science.

In the first chapter "the ground of confidence in inductive reasoning" is considered, and the ideas of Sir William Hamilton and John Stuart Mill are discussed, the author finally arriving at the conclusion that "*induction* is only another word for *interpretation*"—interpretation of the ideas of God as they are revealed in creation through the phenomena of mind and matter.

The next two chapters are occupied with a consideration of "Darwinism as a Scientific Method," and of "Objections to Darwinism and the Rejoinders of its Advocates." In the following chapter the author examines the "True Doctrine of Final Cause or Design in Nature," concluding that "Paley did not reason within a circle," that "the Doctrine of Second Causes involves difficulties analogous to those in the doctrine of Final Causes," and that "the Revelation of God is the highest end of Nature." The three next chapters are occupied respectively with pointing out "Some Analogies between Calvinism and Darwinism," "An Essay on Prehistoric Man," and "The Relation of the Bible to Science."

To persons engaged in noting and studying the progress of the controversy between Protestant defenders of the inspiration of the Bible and those who maintain that it is disproved by the actual results of real scientific investigations, the work is both interesting and valuable.

THE WONDERS OF THE HEART OF SAINT TERESA OF JESUS; Those First Observed, and also Those of More Recent Date. Originally published in Italian by Mgr. Vaccari, President of the Committee upon the Celebration of the Tercentenary of St. Teresa. Baltimore: Published by John B. Piet & Co. 1882.

This book gives an account of the many wonderful things that have been observed at different times connected with the Heart of Saint Teresa. This holy relic is preserved at Alba de Tormes, Spain, in the monastery where Saint Teresa died, and where it has been venerated for three centuries. It is inclosed in a crystal urn, through which may be plainly seen the wound made by the Seraph when he transpierced Saint Teresa's heart with a flaming dart. Many other wonderful things have been observed, such as a notable increase in the size of the heart on various occasions, marvellous apparitions in it; and in the year 1836 two *thorns* were discovered growing out of the heart, and up to the present time at least fifteen have made their appearance. Still other wonderful phenomena have been observed.

The volume before us gives us an account of these, and also of the result of investigations made in 1875 by M. Cordellach, a Spanish priest, of the Congregation of the Mission. The work is published with the *Imprimatur* of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore.

THE LAND OF EIRE: The Irish Land League; Its Origin, Progress, and Consequences. Preceded by a concise history of the various movements which have culminated in the last great agitation. By *John Devoy*. With a descriptive and historical account of Ireland from the earliest period to the present day, comprising portraits of the popular leaders and views of the most interesting scenery and antiquities of the country. New York: Patterson & Neilson, 12 Dey Street.

The title-page of this work clearly indicates its scope and contents. To persons who desire a succinct account of the origin and operations of the Irish Land League, its prominent leaders, concise history of Ireland, and descriptions of its most interesting antiquities, its most highly venerated shrines, its churches and famous castles, and charming scenery, this volume cannot fail to be attractive. It is further enriched with a very large number of admirably executed engravings, consisting of portraits of distinguished Irishmen, pictures of the most famous edifices of Ireland, both of past ages and of the present time, and of the most romantic and beautiful landscape scenery of different parts of Ireland.

NOVENA IN HONOR OF SAINT TERESA; with instructions, etc. By *St. Alphonsus Mary Signori*, Founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Translated from the Italian. With a Preface by the Most Reverend James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore. Baltimore: Published by John B. Piet & Co.

A Novena, with instructions and meditations, composed by one saint in honor of another saint, surely needs no recommendation. Its publication now is peculiarly timely, in view of the approaching Tercentenary Festival, which will be celebrated in honor of Saint Teresa throughout the whole Catholic world.

As introductory to the Novena, the volume contains a preface by the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore, letters from the General of Discalced Carmelites, and Letters Apostolic of Leo XIII. At the close of the volume will be found the "Canticle of Saint Teresa after Communion," translated by the Reverend Father Caswell, of the Birmingham Oratory.

70740

PERIODICAL

DOES NOT CIRCULATE

THIS BOOK MAY NOT BE
TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM